

*Lights of Okhotsk: A Partial Translation and
Discussion in Regard to the Ainu/Enchiw of
Karafuto*

Zea Rose

Department of Global, Cultural and Language Studies

The University of Canterbury

Supervisor: Susan Bouterey

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in Japanese, University of Canterbury, 2019.

Abstract

This thesis aims to introduce the autobiography *Lights of Okhotsk* (2015) to a wider English-speaking audience by translating excerpts from the original Japanese into English. The author of *Lights of Okhotsk*, Abe Yoko, is Ainu and was born in Karafuto (the southern half of what is now known as Sakhalin) in 1933. Abe wrote about her life and experiences growing up in Karafuto before and during the Second World War as a minority. Abe also wrote of her life in Hokkaido following the end of the war and the forced relocation of Ainu away from Karafuto. Historical events such as the Second World War, 1945 invasion of Karafuto, along with language loss, traditional ecological knowledge, discrimination, and displacement are all themes depicted in the excerpts translated in this thesis. These excerpts also depict the everyday life of Abe's family in Karafuto and their struggles in postwar Hokkaido.

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Table of Contents	3
Acknowledgements	5
Notes on the Text	6
Map of Sakhalin	8
Chapter One.....	9
Introduction.....	9
Literature Review.....	13
Chapter Two.....	18
Brief History of Karafuto/Sakhalin.....	18
Brief History of the Ainu	28
Chronology of Abe and her Ancestors.....	42
Overview of the Autobiography	45
Chapter Three.....	48
The Seasons	48
Significant Themes of The Seasons.....	58
Traditional Knowledge	59
Ainu Cuisine	62

Chapter Four.....	65
The War and Occupation	66
Significant Themes of Translation Two	79
Language Loss	80
Roles of Enchiw and other Karafuto Minorities in World War II	85
1945 Invasion of Karafuto	87
Chapter Five	93
The War and Occupation (cont.).....	93
Significant Themes of Translation Three	100
Discrimination Against Karafuto Ainu/Enchiw.....	101
Discourse Surrounding Ainu Tattoos.....	103
Shortages and Hardship in Hokkaido Following the end of WWII.....	106
Conclusion	108
Glossary.....	111
Citations	112

Acknowledgements

I sped nervously into a class about Japanese culture and history at 10am on my first day of university and was lucky enough to meet Dr. Susan Bouterrey. I cannot express how grateful I am to you, but I will try. Thank you for being a wonderful teacher and mentor, encouraging me, challenging me, believing in me, giving me opportunities, listening to me and for supporting me from the very beginning. I appreciate all of the time and energy that you have put into my studies and have grown as a person through knowing you.

Thank you to Dr. Henk de Groot for jumping in enthusiastically for both my honours thesis and my masters. Your comments have been invaluable and your genuine interest in the topics that I've worked on has made it a pleasure to work with you.

Thank you to Abe Yoko, for writing this autobiography and sharing your experiences with the world. Thank you to the editor of *Lights of Okhotsk*, Hashida Yoshinori, for kindly answering my questions about the autobiography.

I am lucky that I was able to learn from such fantastic teachers throughout my undergraduate degree as well. What they taught me has helped me immensely in my post graduate studies. Thank you to Dr. Rachel Payne, Dr. Masayoshi Ogino, Maki Tokumoto and Eri Kojima-Mathieson. When you all started teaching me, I only knew how to count to 99 in Japanese and say 'hello', I have learned a lot since then.

I was very fortunate and grateful to receive both the Barbara Mito Reed Award and the UC Master's Scholarship which made it possible for me to do this thesis.

Finally, thank you to the wonderful people who I have in my life. Thank you for believing in me and supporting me from both near and far. For always being there to listen, letting me bounce ideas around, giving me feedback, letting me take over your kitchens and eating all of the resulting stress baking etc. Thank you for pushing me to improve. Because of all of you, I have been able to do things that I did not think I could.

Notes on the Text

Karafuto Ainu/Enchiw

There are two self-appellations used by Karafuto Ainu, *Ainu* and *Enchiw*, respectively *aynu* and *enciw* in phonemic description (Inoue 75). *Ainu* is a word from the Ainu language which means ‘human’. Following the removal of Karafuto Ainu from Sakhalin after the end of World War Two the Karafuto Ainu began to use ‘*Enchiw*’ to refer to themselves, possibly out of the desire to differentiate themselves from Hokkaido Ainu (Inoue 75). ‘*Ainu*’, ‘*Kuril Ainu*’, ‘*Enchiw*’ or ‘*Karafuto Ainu*’ to refer to the indigenous inhabitants. I will also use these terms depending on whether I am referring to the general Ainu population or Ainu from a specific region. According to Siddle (“Race and Resistance” 5), these are still widely used terms of self-designated identification and are especially used in the context of Hokkaido and Ainu studies.

Wajin

Throughout this thesis I will use the term ‘*wajin*’ to refer to those who immigrated to Karafuto and Hokkaido from mainland Japan. The term ‘*wajin*’ means ‘person of Wa (Yamato¹)’ and has been used commonly in northern Japan since the nineteenth century (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 5).

¹ An ancient word used broadly to refer to Japan and Japanese people, especially in contrast to China (Kodansha V8, 308).

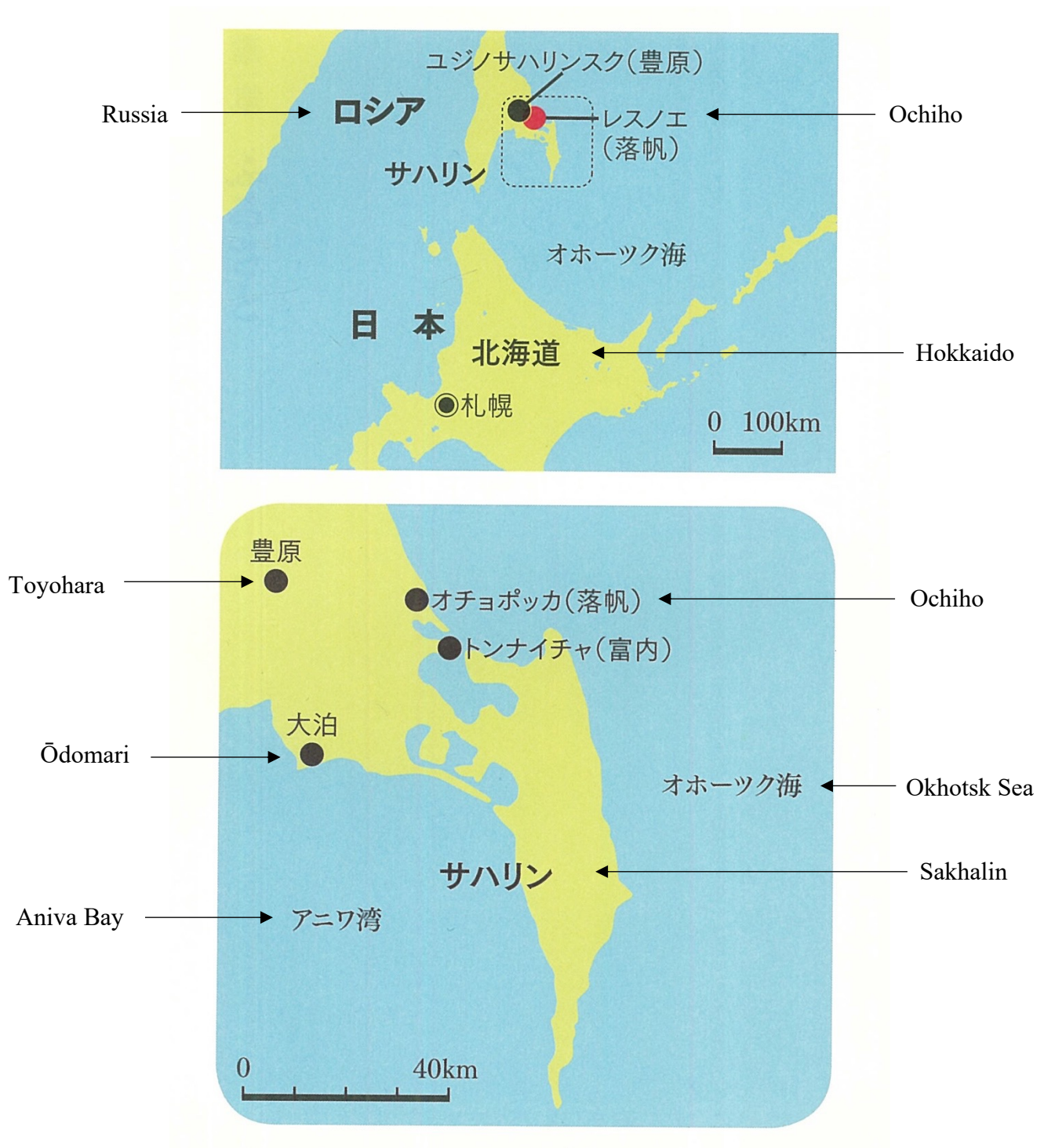
Transcription of Japanese Words

Macrons have been used to indicate long vowels, except in the case of words commonly used in the English language without them eg Tokyo, Osaka. Quotations or titles in which macrons were not originally used will not have macrons. Japanese names are given in the conventional order: surname followed by given name.

Japanese Calendar

Japan has historically used reign titles to denote the passing of the years. Each time the Emperor changes so does the name of the time period. Abe uses the Japanese calendar throughout her autobiography followed by the date in the format used by the Western calendar. I will retain the reign title with the western date in brackets. The majority of the autobiography takes place in the Showa Era (1926-1989).

Map of Sakhalin



Map taken from *Lights of Okhotsk*, used with permission. Artist: Kawagoe Soichi.

Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis will focus on an autobiography called *Lights of Okhotsk—Ohōtsuku no Akari—* which was written by an *Enchiw*/Karafuto Ainu woman, Abe Yoko (b. 1933), and published in 2015. Abe was born in Karafuto (the southern half of Sakhalin that was formerly Japanese territory, but was incorporated into Sakhalin and is currently Russian territory) and has written about her life and experiences as Karafuto Ainu/*Enchiw* before, during and after the Second World War. I have chosen this work due to the fact that whilst Ainu studies as a field is growing and gaining traction, the voices of Ainu themselves are still largely absent. One thing that I have struggled with in choosing this topic is that I will be writing about a minority culture from a culture that is not my own. I deliberated about whether or not to write about Ainu or not until I was asked by an acquaintance why I was considering this topic because “Anyone can do it right?” This is when I realised that translating excerpts of *Lights of Okhotsk* and discussing them is not necessarily something that anyone and everyone can do, but it is something that I can. To my knowledge this autobiography has not been translated into English or featured in much research.

When researching about Karafuto Ainu, I found that the majority of the studies I have seen tend to focus on Ainu from the western coast of Karafuto, whereas Abe and her family were located in the east. The treatment and history of *Enchiw* is a topic that I think is relevant to many spheres of study. Through researching about *Enchiw* you also end up looking at the politics surrounding Sakhalin (and by extension, the Kuril Islands), the history of the people

and the island, the role it played in the war and the continued friction between Russia and Japan concerning the northern (or south eastern, depending on what perspective you are looking from) islands.

Abe was born and raised in a small village called Ochiho, now known as Lesnoye, on the eastern coast of Karafuto—the Japanese name for the southern half of Sakhalin that was Japanese territory. Abe's family was relocated to Hokkaido after the end of WWII.² This relocation of Ainu to Japan was not the first. Her father's side of the family was part of the 841 Ainu who, due to the Treaty of St Petersburg in 1875,³ were relocated to Japan and later returned, whereas her mother's side remained in Sakhalin. Abe's autobiography gives a glimpse into what life in her village was like. According to Tamura Masato, a scholar associated with Abe, this autobiography is the first record of what life in Ochiho was like as there were no scholarly interviews of any of the villagers when they left Sakhalin (Tamura in *Lights of Okhotsk*, 246). The autobiography also gives a firsthand account of Abe and her family's experiences during the relocation and the discrimination and hardships that they faced as a minority in Japan. Due to Abe growing up in Karafuto and Japan historically having more involvement in Karafuto than Sakhalin as a whole, this thesis will focus mainly on Karafuto but will endeavour to give a broad overview of the history of the island in order to provide context.

² Over a year after the end of WWII Russia consented to repatriation of Japanese citizens (this included Ainu) who were taken to Hokkaido (Stephan, 160). Russia decided to resettle Karafuto with citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Stephan, 156).

³ The Treaty of St Petersburg was signed in 1875 by Russia and Japan. Japan exchanged rights to Sakhalin for Russian rights to the Kurils north of Etorofu Island. (Stephan 63). Japanese nationals who stayed in Sakhalin retained their nationality and were granted privileges such as continuing to fish in Sakhalin waters (Stephan 63). The Sakhalin Ainu were given three years to decide whether they would retain Japanese citizenship and relocate to Japan or remain in Sakhalin under Russian rule (Stephan 64).

Sakhalin is a geographically significant island situated between major world powers and has played an immense role in the evolution of Japanese and Russian relations. Sakhalin, along with the Kuril Islands—known as the *Chishima-rettō* in Japanese—has been a source of controversy and strife between Japan and Russia since the seventeenth century. The border lines in and around Sakhalin have shifted and been redrawn multiple times, both peacefully and through battle, the entire island is currently Russian territory. Scholar, John J. Stephan has referred to it as “East Asia’s ‘Alsace Lorraine’ (2)”. The friction between the two countries began when Russia and Japan asserted that they were the ‘discoverers’ and attempted to claim both sets of islands as their own. This thesis will focus mainly on Sakhalin, but the Kuril Islands are also very important to this discussion as the controversy surrounding Sakhalin is inextricably tied in with the Kuril Islands. The debate surrounding the Kurils is ongoing, as a result the two countries are yet to sign a peace treaty that officially ends the war between them (Brown 251).

Prior to the arrival of Japan and Russia, Sakhalin was already inhabited by different groups of indigenous people including the Ainu, Nivkh (who have also been known as the Gilyak), and Uilta (who have also been known as the Oroki). Both Japan and Russia have laid claim to Sakhalin based on their history with the island and making the ‘first discovery’. However, the island had (and still has) indigenous inhabitants. Aside from that, China had contact with Sakhalin several centuries before Japan and Russia. Both the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) and the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) had contact with Sakhalin (Stephan 29). This combination of inhabitation and ‘discovery’ that predates Japan and Russia shows how their claims, such as Russia’s claim that “the entire island of Sakhalin belongs to our motherland by right of first discovery, first settlement, first exploration and first unification (Stephan 19)” are disputable.

This thesis consists of five chapters split into smaller sections, each of which focuses on a different topic. The first chapter begins with this introduction and literature review that details key research done regarding Karafuto Ainu/*Enchiw*, Ainu in general and studies of Karafuto/Sakhalin. The primary source of this thesis is *Lights of Okhotsk* (2015) by Abe Yoko. The secondary sources are predominantly English and Japanese, with a few sources translated from Russian, and range across many different spheres of academic study. Following the literature review is Chapter Two, the first half of which contains an abbreviated introduction to the history of Sakhalin Island and an abbreviated history of the Ainu. The brief history of Sakhalin covers major recorded events from the 1600s to the present. The aim of this is to situate this autobiography and translations within the discussion of the complex and multifaceted history of the island. Accompanying this is a brief history of the Ainu. This focuses not only on the Ainu of Karafuto but also of the Kuril Islands and Hokkaido. This is in order to show a varied, nuanced history of Ainu across their homelands. The policies and precedents set in Hokkaido are very pertinent to discussions regarding Ainu of other areas. This history also fits in with events depicted in *Lights of Okhotsk* as Abe writes of her experience of major historical events, especially in the 1940s, that not only affected Karafuto Ainu, but also the world.

Chapter Two also includes a chronology of Abe's life and her ancestors which has been translated from the original Japanese in *Lights of Okhotsk* by myself. Along with this chronology is an overview of the autobiography which I have added in order to provide context to the excerpts that I have chosen to translate. Chapter Three starts with the first translation "The Seasons", which focuses on the daily life of Abe and her family along with the flora and fauna of the area that they lived in in Karafuto. The rest of the chapter is split into sections, each dealing with a significant theme covered in the first translation. The themes covered for

the first translation are traditional knowledge, Ainu cuisine and food shortages during the Second World War.

The fourth chapter begins with the second translation, “The War and Occupation” which details Abe’s experience of the war and the effect it had on her, and her family’s life in Karafuto. This translation touched on many different themes, the ones focused on in this chapter are language loss, the roles of *Enchiw* and other Karafuto minorities in World War II and the 1945 Soviet invasion of Karafuto following the end of WWII. These topics are all relevant and important to any discussion about Karafuto Ainu and Sakhalin. The fifth and final chapter starts with the third and final translation, “The War and Occupation cont.” which follows on from the previous translation. This translation covers many different topics, I have chosen to focus mainly on themes such as discrimination against Karafuto Ainu/*Enchiw* and the banning of Ainu traditions and customs.

Literature Review

Western scholarship and documentation regarding Ainu go back to at least the eighteenth century when the first Russian records appeared (Fitzhugh et al). Japanese documentation of the Ainu goes back further, with Ainu featuring in Japanese documents dating back as early as the eighth century (Fitzhugh et al). There are numerous publications with extensive research regarding the Ainu of Japan about culture, language, history, beliefs, lifestyle, and the relationship between Ainu and *wajin* in Hokkaido. Whilst there is a relatively extensive body of academic work regarding Ainu in circulation, the majority of it focuses on Hokkaido Ainu. There are far fewer publications concerning Karafuto Ainu which is why *Lights of Okhotsk* is such a relevant work to this field of study. One contributing factor to the lack of research (especially in English) may be that because Sakhalin’s borders have been drawn and redrawn

multiple times with major powers, mainly Russia and Japan, having significant input, both countries have their own narrative regarding Sakhalin with their own research. There are less publications in English available than in Russian and Japanese, however the field of study is beginning to increase. For this thesis I will draw primarily on English and Japanese resources with some Russian sources that have been translated into either English or Japanese. What follows is not an extensive list the research done in the field of Ainu studies, but it provides an overview of key scholars who have made significant contributions.

The main primary source that this thesis will draw on is *Lights of Okhotsk* (2015) by Abe Yoko. This autobiography was written over a period of ten years and contains a first-hand account of Abe's life and experiences growing up as Karafuto Ainu in Sakhalin. I have chosen to focus on this work due to the fact that whilst Ainu studies as a field is growing and gaining traction, the voices of Ainu, especially Karafuto Ainu, are largely absent. Abe was born and raised in a small village called Ochiho in Sakhalin (now known as Lesnoye). Her family was relocated to Hokkaido after the end of WWII. This relocation of Ainu to Japan was not the first. Her father's side of the family was part of the 841 Ainu who, due to the Treaty of St Petersburg, were relocated to Japan and later returned, whereas her mother's side remained in Sakhalin. Abe's autobiography gives a glimpse into what life in Ochiho was like. According to Tamura Masato, a scholar associated with Abe, this autobiography is the first record of people's daily lives in Ochiho as there were no scholarly interviews of any of the villagers after they left Sakhalin (Tamura in *Lights of Okhotsk*, 246). The autobiography also gives a firsthand account of Abe and her family's experiences during the relocation, and the discrimination and hardships that they faced as a minority in post-war Japan.

Written by John J. Stephan, *Sakhalin: A History* (1971) provides an extensive history of the island from the island's prehistory to the time of publication. It draws on a wide range of sources from multiple languages including Japanese, Russian and Chinese. Not only does this book give an overview of the exploration, politics and history of the island, but also a description of the geography and geology of the island. Following *Sakhalin: A History* (1971), Stephan published *The Kuril Islands: Russo-Japanese Frontier in the Pacific* (1974) which is written in a similar vein. There is a reasonable amount of overlap between the two works due to the disputes surrounding the border between Japan and Russia generally being related to both the Kurils and Sakhalin. Because of the complexity of the politics surrounding Sakhalin and the Kurils, both are relevant to this thesis. Looking at Russian sources, Russian author and playwright Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) wrote a comprehensive account of his journey to Sakhalin in *Sakhalin Island* (1895). This account of his journey in Sakhalin provides an informative Russian perspective of Sakhalin during the time it was a penal colony.

There was not much academic documentation regarding Karafuto Ainu following the end of World War II, but in the 1960s and 1970s, anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney conducted ethnographical research with Karafuto Ainu who were relocated to Hokkaido after the war. Ohnuki-Tierney's work has looked at various aspects of the culture and traditions of Karafuto Ainu, such as in the publication *Illness and Healing Among the Sakhalin Ainu* (1981) which focuses on looking at the Sakhalin Ainu through the lens of ethnomedicine. Ohnuki-Tierney also wrote *The Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Southern Sakhalin* (1974) as well as various articles about topics such as how Karafuto Ainu recognise time and shamans. Ohnuki-Tierney's work has opened up further dialogue surrounding Karafuto Ainu (focusing on Ainu of the northwest coast) and has also looked at aspects of their lives that had not been researched

before. Ohnuki-Tierney has made these studies readily available to the English-speaking audience and considerably broadened the field of Ainu studies.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki has published extensively in both English and Japanese across multiple disciplines such as border studies, migration, citizenship, indigenous knowledge and post-colonial studies. *Northern Lights: The Making and Unmaking of Karafuto Identity* (2001) and *Performing Ethnic Harmony: The Japanese Government's Plans for a New Ainu Law* (2018) are of particular interest. Morris-Suzuki's publications about Karafuto do not necessarily focus on Ainu, this offers a different, broader perspective on Karafuto which is immensely valuable to the field. An invaluable source of information for this thesis is *Voices from the Shifting Russo-Japanese Border: Karafuto/Sakhalin* (2015), edited by Svetlana Paichadze and Philip A. Seaton. This volume covers a variety of issues and is written by Western, Japanese and Russian scholars. It covers topics such as shifting borders and perspectives, identity, language and education issues.

Richard Siddle has conducted research that focuses on subjects such as Japan's minorities, multiculturalism, and ethnic tourism. Siddle has also focused on the Ainu, publishing books such as *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (1996) which provides an overview of the history of the Ainu, as well as numerous articles and book chapters. Another scholar who has several publications regarding the Ainu is Ann-Elise Lewallen, who focuses on subjects such as gender studies, indigenous studies, multiculturalism, and environmental justice in regard to Japan and India. Lewallen's book *The Fabric of Indigeneity: Ainu Identity, Gender and Settler Colonialism in Japan* (2016) explores how Ainu women create identities and preserve and produce material arts and investigates the relationship between indigenous people and gender.

In relation to research surrounding Ochiho, Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882–1971) is particularly interesting. Kindaichi was an influential linguist and scholar of the Ainu language and culture whose main field of study was the transcription and translation of Ainu *yukar*, a form of verse: recited epics that tell of stories of love, war, heroes, and gods (Shibatani 4). Kindaichi won the Onshishō prize in 1932 for his research regarding *yukar* (Morioka Museum) and also visited Abe's village on more than one occasion. Abe's mother recalls Kindaichi fondly, he established a school in Ochiho, the first place in which Abe's mother received formal education (*Lights of Okhotsk* 9). The connection between Kindaichi and Ochiho makes his work especially significant in regard to the autobiography and it's recounting of the lasting impression he made on Abe's mother along with the fact that eventually Abe and her family moved into the building that had previously been the school and lived there for many years.

Shiode Hiroyuki's *Nation or Colony? The Political Belonging of the Japanese in Karafuto* (2009) is of interest as it focuses on political affiliation and personal voices of *wajin* in Karafuto. Brett L. Walker's *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion 1590-1800* (2001) provides an in depth overview of Japanese colonisation of Ainu territory and includes research on the Karafuto and Kuril Ainu.

A significant portion of this thesis consists of translation for which Mona Baker's *In Other Words* (1992) has been invaluable as a technical guide. *Translation and Translation Studies in the Japanese Context* (2012) edited by Nana Sato-Rossberg and Judy Wakabayashi includes a wide variety of theoretical discussions on the subject of translation in relation to Japanese. The chapter, "Translating Place-Names in a Colonial Context: Two Dictionaries of Ainu Toponymy" by Sato-Rossberg examines the importance of the worldview of Ainu along with the importance of cultural understanding when translating Ainu place-names and the cultural

significance of geographical locations. This chapter informed my thinking and process whilst translating the excerpts of *Lights of Okhotsk* (2015).

Chapter Two

This chapter provides a very brief overview of the history of Sakhalin Island and Karafuto beginning around the 1600s. Sakhalin's time as a territory jointly occupied by Japan and Russia is discussed followed by the various agreements and treaties that moved the Sakhalin border multiple times. Following this is a brief, broad history of Ainu. This does not focus specifically on Karafuto, but on Hokkaido and the Kuril Islands as well. Significant policies and laws that effected Ainu are discussed in order to provide context on the laws and official stance held towards Ainu. The final section of this chapter introduces Abe Yoko. A translated chronology of her ancestors provides background information on her family and a small amount of insight into their life in Karafuto. Due to the entire autobiography not being translated, a broad, brief overview of the text as a whole is provided in order to give the translations and discussions that follow in later chapters more depth.

Brief History of Karafuto/Sakhalin

Sakhalin is situated in the northern hemisphere on the Pacific Ring of Fire. It is a long, narrow island that stretches between Japan and Russia, is 160km at its widest point and 948 kilometers in length (Paichadze & Seaton 1). The area of Sakhalin is approximately 87,100 square kilometres, a mountainous land with many volcanoes, of which forty or so are active (Federation Council). As of 2018 the population was estimated to have reached 490,100

(Federation Council). The winters are dry and cold with the average January temperature being -14.1°C , summers are warm and humid with an average temperature of $+13.9^{\circ}\text{C}$ (Federation Council). Sakhalin is separated from Hokkaido by the 43 kilometer La Pérouse Strait—also known as the Sōya Strait—and from Russia by the 7.4 kilometer Nevelskoi Strait (Paichadze & Seaton 1). Sakhalin is known for its plentiful natural resources. There has been international attention for its oil and natural gas reserves (Paichadze and Seaton 1) and also for dense forests which provided the materials used to make paper and cellulose along with coal and fishing (Stephan 9). The most populous indigenous people of Sakhalin were the Karafuto Ainu, the Nivkh, and Oroki. The indigenous people of Sakhalin's inherent rights to their homeland have been pushed aside due to the island being a major point of contention and friction between major world powers. Sakhalin's geographical position, political significance and history have all contributed to this.

Russia and Japan began exploring Sakhalin in about 1635. Both claimed to be the first to discover the island (Stephan 31), however the first known major world power to interact with the indigenous people of Sakhalin was China. The Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) received tributes from the indigenous peoples of Sakhalin and called the island Kuyedao—the island of the Ainu (Nakayama 20). Aside from Russia and Japan, Maerten Gerritszoon Vries (1589-1647), a Dutch explorer documented reaching Aniwa Bay in 1643 (Stephan 31). The debate surrounding who 'discovered' Sakhalin first is void due to China having a prior presence and the various groups of indigenous people who were there before any other known established civilisations. Regardless, the confusion around exact dates and political agendas turned the 'discovery' of Sakhalin into a point of contention. Adding to the confusion, the cartography of Sakhalin remained a mystery until 1809 when Japanese explorer and cartographer Mamiya Rinzō (1775

or 1780-1845⁴) established that Sakhalin was in fact an island (Stephan 38). Mamiya made two attempts before arriving at a definitive conclusion. The push to map Sakhalin came from Russia and Japan's desire to understand the geography of Sakhalin and expand their borders.

In 1858 the Aigun Treaty was signed between China and Russia. China ceded the left bank of the Amur River (now located on the eastern border between Russia and China) to Russia and in 1860 signed the Treaty of Peking which ceded the rest of the land to Russia (Nield 23). This meant that China was cut off and no longer had access to Sakhalin as it previously had. China also did not show much interest in establishing a claim to Sakhalin. Through the signing of a number of treaties, the border between Japanese and Russian territory in Sakhalin has changed multiple times. The 1855 Treaty of Shimoda signed by Japan and Russia clearly demarcated the border between Russia and Japan as being between the Kuril Islands of Etorofu and Uruppu with Sakhalin being jointly occupied (Stephan 196). Following the signing of the Treaty of Shimoda, there were various conflicts between the Russian and Japanese officials, merchants, residents, and fishermen on the island (Nakayama 20). The first set border between Japan and Russia that concerned Sakhalin was decided in 1875 with the Treaty of St. Petersburg. This treaty placed the border through the La Pérouse Strait, Sakhalin became part of the Russian empire and Japan took possession of the Kuril Islands (Stephan 196). Indigenous people of Sakhalin were given three years to make a choice; if they wanted to stay in Sakhalin, they had to become Russian citizens, if they wanted to be Japanese subjects, they had to go to Japan (Stephan 198). Although it no longer had a territorial claim to Sakhalin, Japan retained certain privileges such as fishing and commercial rights, a consular office and access to Sakhalin (Sevela 93).

⁴ The date that Mamiya was born is unclear.

From 1875 onwards Russia began to use Sakhalin as a penal colony. Russian playwright and author Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) journeyed to Sakhalin in 1890 and published *Sakhalin Island* in 1895 about his time on the island. Chekhov recounts an exchange he had there, “‘Why are your dog and cockerel tied up?’ I would ask a householder. ‘Here on Sakhalin everything’s chained up,’ he’d crack in reply.” This gives an indication of the type of place it was. Chekhov describes the conditions on the island in which prison officials had absolute power over convicts, as well as independent inhabitants. To quote Stephan,

“On Sakhalin, peasants went to the woods not in search of grapes nor to gratify their lust, but for the deadly toxic wolfsbane which would bring a quick end to their tormented lives.” (65)

There was also a case of a convict killing a particularly cruel jailer by suffocating him with bread dough (Stephan 65). The exile population in Sakhalin steadily grew from one or two thousand in 1875 to over 20,000 by 1904 (Stephan 68). Those who lived in Sakhalin fell into several different categories; jailors who worked in the prisons, administrators and exiles who were either hard labour convicts, convict settlers or ‘peasants who were formerly convicts’ (Stephan 68). The population of women on Sakhalin was dwarfed by the men, convict women were about ten percent of the exiles (Stephan 60). Officials would meet them as they arrived in Sakhalin and designate them as either kitchen workers or maids, prostitutes for the guards or partners for convicts who had applied to have a woman (Stephan 70). In 1893 women began to be used as a reward for good behaviour (Stephan 71).

In 1904 the Russo-Japanese War began with a surprise attack by Japan on Port Arthur located on the coast of (what was then known as) Manchuria. Kowner states that the Russo-Japanese war can be considered the first modern war, with large scale conflicts such as the Battle of Mukden involving over half a million soldiers in total (4-5). The development of widespread

communication and media made it the most reported war up until then (Kowner 1), the whole world was watching. In spite of Japan's geographical proximity to Sakhalin, there was no plan for defence against Russia until 1903 when a special commission was set up to develop one (Sevela 94). The major land battles of the war were fought in Manchuria in which Japan gained the upper hand. Following Japan's victory at the naval Battle of Tsushima in May 1905, Japan invaded Sakhalin in July of the same year. At the time of invasion there were approximately 6,000 – 7,000 Russian soldiers on the island who were located mainly in the north, Japan's invading force was about 14,000 men (Sevela 96). The Japanese troops landed in the south, near Aniwa Bay, and progressed steadily north (Sevela 96). Japanese military vessels cut the island off from the mainland by positioning ships in the Tartar Strait and then destroyed a nearby Russian military base. At the end of July, General Liapunov, the military governor of Sakhalin accepted Japan's terms of surrender (Sevela 97), over 4,000 men laid down their arms (Stephan 79).

In August 1905 Japanese and Russian delegates gathered at Portsmouth in the United States of America to negotiate the terms of the end of the war along with United States President, Theodore Roosevelt (1858 – 1919) (Stephan 80). Japan originally demanded Sakhalin in its entirety but partly due to pressure from Roosevelt and the financial strain of the war, the final settlement that was reached was that Japan would take possession of the southern half of Sakhalin from below the fiftieth parallel which was then renamed as Karafuto (Stephan 81). This instance of joint occupancy differed from that of pre-1875 in that it had a clearly defined, fixed border that was regulated. The border was demarcated by being cleared of trees, leaving a ten-metre wide line dividing the island with seventeen stone markers and a number of wooden posts (Stephan 86). The Japanese government actively encouraged colonisation of Karafuto in a similar way to how they promoted colonisation of Hokkaido (Stephan 86). A colonial

government was established in 1907 and Japanese settlers developed fishing, mining and forestry interests (Nakayama 21). Along with Japanese settlers there were a large number of Korean citizens who had become subjects of Imperial Japan following the annexation of Korea in 1910 (Nakayama 21). Karafuto differed from many other Japanese colonies in that the Japanese population outnumbered any other ethnic group (Paichadze and Seaton 8). One of the differences between Karafuto and other Japanese colonies is that Karafuto was a 'Japanese settlement colony' or 'an immigration-type colony' whereas other colonies such as Taiwan and Korea were 'exploitation and investment-type colonies (Paichadze & Seaton 8)'. In Korea and Taiwan, the Japanese population never surpassed the local colonised population (Paichadze & Seaton 8) whereas in Karafuto Japanese residents were the vast majority. It is worth noting that this is in part due to the indigenous population of Karafuto being very small, numbering in the thousands rather than the millions like Taiwan and Korea.

From 1905-1920 both northern Sakhalin and Karafuto were developed steadily, largely without border disputes or issues. During these transitional years World War One (1914-1918) erupted, there was also the Russian Revolution (1917-1920)⁵ and the Allied Intervention of Siberia⁶ (1918-1922). Communications between Karafuto and Japan were developed, regular transport from Hokkaido to Karafuto began, railways were laid in Karafuto and the population grew from 5,000 in 1905 to 189,036 in 1925 (Stephan 90). In contrast to this, the 1907 population of Ainu was approximately 1,600 (Stephan 90). The Ainu population of Karafuto was entered into the Japanese family registry and ceased to be counted separately which means that later on there is not a record of how many Karafuto Ainu there were. Ainu lived in specific areas designated by the Japanese government (Stephan 90), Ochiho was one of these.

⁵ Uprising against czarist rule lead by the Bolsheviks, resulted in the end of Russian Imperial rule.

⁶ Japan, the United States, Italy, Britain, France, Canada and Italy sent troops to Siberia to intervene in support of the Czech Legion.

In comparison to Karafuto, the population of Russia's territory—the northern half—dipped dramatically. Sakhalin was no longer suitable to be used as a penal colony due to it being the new frontier between Japan and Russia, as a result the Russian population on the island changed drastically. The 1904 population of 40,000 decreased to 7,000 by 1905 (Stephan 90). Sakhalin was known as a terrible place that was meant for convicts and exiles, with harsh living conditions which is why 'free settlers' from across Russia were not drawn to Sakhalin. The northern half of the island completely failed to attract a substantial number of settlers: between 1908-1914 only 105 families moved to there (Stephan 91). This changed after the beginning of World War One: between 1914-1916 over 15,000 people from Russia immigrated to northern Sakhalin (Stephan 91). This was because the outbreak of WWI precipitated an influx of residents due to the government announcement that those living in Sakhalin would be exempt from military service (Stephan 92). Following this influx of residents, oil and coal became important industries and were the economic base of northern Sakhalin (Stephan 93).

The peace in Sakhalin and Karafuto lasted until the Japanese army invaded and occupied northern Sakhalin in 1920, the reason put forward by the Japanese government for this occupation is an incident in Nikolaevsk—a village near the mouth of the Amur River. In May 1920, the town was attacked by Bolshevik supporters. The Japanese soldiers, civilians and smattering of Americans and Russians that were there surrendered, but then orchestrated a surprise counterattack that failed. Consequently, approximately 700 people were put to death (Stephan 98) including 383 Japanese civilians and 351 Japanese soldiers (Nimmo 9). Other reasons said to have motivated the Japanese occupation of northern Sakhalin include fear of Russia using northern Sakhalin as a military base that could be used to attack Japan, the drive to drill for oil, and the deeply ingrained historical belief that Sakhalin was Japanese territory

(Stephan 98). The Japanese occupation lasted until 1925 when it ended with a convention signed in Peking that included concessions such as the continuation of exploiting northern Sakhalin's natural resources such as forests and oil drilling, contingent on the withdrawal of Japanese troops (Nimmo 11). Northern Sakhalin was returned to the USSR under the 'Convention Embodying Basic Rules of the Relations between Japan and the USSR' (Nakayama 21).

Due to this convention Karafuto and northern Sakhalin both peacefully progressed over the next twenty years. Colonisation of Karafuto by the Japanese government was accelerated, the population continued to grow rapidly, leaping from 189,036 in 1925 to 447,976 in 1944 and was administratively treated as a colony of Japan (Stephan 111). Of this population the second most numerous ethnic group was Korean while Karafuto Ainu numbered 1,508 in 1935 (Nakayama 26). The total population of *Enchiw* was under 0.45% of the total population of Karafuto (Murasaki 4), however the population of *Enchiw* after 1935 is unclear due to them being added to the Japanese family register. This meant that Karafuto Ainu were not being counted separately, but together with Japanese citizens (Nakayama 26). External events such as the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the dispossession of Russians in Harbin by Japan and the Nomonhan Incident, or Battle of Khalkin Gol⁷ (1939) which ended in Japanese defeat along with the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 all had an impact on northern Sakhalin and Karafuto (Nakayama 21). In response to the conflict both sides sent military units to guard the border which brought both into direct violation of the agreement made in 1925 not to station troops at the border (Nakayama 21). In 1941 a neutrality pact between Russia and Japan was signed and lasted until 1945 (Nakayama 22). This neutrality pact stipulated that

⁷ A battle between Japan and Russia fought on the border of Manchuria and Mongolia in which Japan was defeated.

Japan would no longer enjoy the concessions they had up until that point in northern Sakhalin along with guaranteeing the borders of Outer Mongolia (Nimmo 14). This neutrality pact was valid for five years to be extended another five years if neither side raised any objections in the year leading up to expiration (Stephan 201). Both sides were to respect the other's territory and maintain peaceful relations (Stephan 201).

Following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 both Britain and the United States began to pressure the Soviet Union to invade Japanese territory (Nimmo 15). In 1945 Joseph Stalin (1878-1953), Franklin Roosevelt (1882-1945) and Winston Churchill (1874-1965) met in Yalta on the Crimean Peninsula for the Yalta Conference. The purpose of this conference was to settle what the Allied Powers would do after the end of the war, and how they would deal with the defeated. A significant outcome of this conference was that following the surrender of Germany and conclusion of the war in Europe, the Soviet Union would enter into war against Japan alongside the Allies (Stephan 202). Stalin's conditions for agreement included the 'return' of Karafuto and the Kuril Islands to the USSR (Nimmo 16). Evidence of the history of the Kuril Islands and a recommendation that the southern islands remain in Japan's possession was not included in the Yalta briefing and it is thought that Roosevelt was unaware of it (Nimmo 17). This agreement was kept completely secret until after the war (Nimmo 17). Following Germany's surrender and the conclusion of the war in Europe, the Soviet army invaded Karafuto from the northern territory on the 11th of August 1945 (Nakayama 22). The Japanese government began evacuating civilians from the 13th of August onwards, but this was halted when Soviet forces took over the capital of Karafuto, Toyohara on the 23rd of August 1945 (Nakayama 22).

Following Japan's defeat in 1945 with the signing of the San Francisco Treaty, Japan renounced claims on Karafuto and the Kuril Islands (Stephan 203). This meant that Japanese residents in these areas would have to leave but the repatriation of the residents of Karafuto was halted, and Japanese and Korean residents were prohibited from leaving until an agreement was reached in 1946 between the United States and the USSR regarding repatriation (Nakayama 28). There was an influx of Russian residents to Karafuto but due to housing shortages it was common for Russian and Japanese families to share a house (Stephan 191). Between December 1946 to July 1949, 279,356 Japanese soldiers and civilians (including Karafuto Ainu) were repatriated from Karafuto, most of whom landed in Hokkaido (Nakayama 29). The new border between Japan and Russia was set through the middle of the La Pérouse Strait (Nakayama 22). To this day, Sakhalin continues to be Russian territory. The dispute regarding the southern Kuril Islands is ongoing and as a result a peace treaty between the two countries is yet to be signed.

Following the invasion and occupation, Karafuto became part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic—the RSFSR and the border between Russia and Japan that had previously been at the 50th parallel became a thing of the past (Urbansky & Barop). The absorption of Sakhalin into the Russian empire changed the significance of the island for Russia and altered its role into being a military guard against Japan (Urbansky & Barop). The population on Sakhalin has grown, tourism has opened up and the island is now accessible to people other than Russian citizens. The Kuril Islands are also part of the USSR although the four closest to Japan (the Habomai group of islets and the islands of Shikotan, Etorofu and Kunashiri) are still under dispute with Japan as to whether or not they should be returned and become Japanese territory again. According to a survey conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center to which there were 1,600 Russian respondents, 77% of Russians are against these

islands becoming Japanese territory, 14% do not oppose it (The Moscow Times “77% of Russians”). The head of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center, Valery Fyodorov has been quoted as saying that “Any hint that the islands will be given to Japan causes, as a rule, outrage in society” The Moscow Times “77% of Russians”). The territorial disagreement regarding these islands continues to be a political issue that affects the international affairs between the two nations, almost 75 years after the conclusion of WWII.

Brief History of the Ainu

The Ainu are indigenous people from Hokkaido, Karafuto/Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. As mentioned previously, another self-appellation of the Karafuto Ainu is *Enchiw*, both terms will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis. Another term that will be used throughout this thesis when talking about Ainu and other minority cultures is ‘indigenous’. The definition of the term ‘indigenous’ has been debated over the years so I am providing a widely used working definition by Jose R. Martinez Cobo, the Special Rapporteur of the Sub- Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. In a study about discrimination against indigenous populations published in the early 1980s, Cobo provided a working definition which refers to people who had their own pre-invasion or pre-colonial society, consider themselves distinct from other societies, and form non-dominant sectors of society (UNDESA). For indigenous peoples, their ethnic identity is the basis of their continued existence as a people. Following this working definition, Ainu fit into the category of indigenous people.

The Ainu were primarily a hunter-gatherer society that predominately lived in Ezo-chi, which is now the northern-most island of Japan. Following the modernisation of Japan and

construction of a nation state Ezo-chi was annexed, then in 1869 renamed to ‘Hokkaido’ (Hasegawa 208). The land that the Ainu inhabited—and continue to inhabit—is known by the Ainu as *Ainu Moshir*. Aside from Hokkaido, Karafuto, and the Kuril Islands, Ainu are thought to have inhabited the northernmost prefectures of mainland Japan where there are many Ainu place names, even though there is no written record of the language in this area (Nakagawa & Okuda 377). There are also indications of Ainu having been in Kamchatka in Russia’s far east, as there are Ainu place names in the south of the Kamchatka Peninsula (Shibatani 3). This brief history focuses broadly on Ainu across all of these areas with a stronger focus on Hokkaido because the majority of the Ainu lived there and the laws, policies and precedent set in Hokkaido by the *Kaitakushi*—Hokkaido Colonisation Commission—which had an impact on Ainu living in other areas.

The Kuril Ainu were greatly impacted by Japanese and Russian expansion and competition. In 1875, under the Treaty of St. Petersburg, Ainu who lived in Sakhalin and the northern Kuril Islands were relocated to Hokkaido (Maruyama “Japan's Post-War” 204). Some of these Ainu were able to return to Sakhalin in 1905 due to the provisions of the Treaty of Portsmouth after the Russo-Japanese War (Maruyama “Japan's Post-War” 204). But by 1933 there were only 41 Kuril Ainu left and it is thought that there are now no living descendants (Shibatani 3).

Sakhalin became an area of particular interest due to both the prospect of trade and border security. Karafuto Ainu are known to have traded extensively with Japan under the watchful eye of the Matsumae family (known as the Kakizaki family until 1599). The demand and pressure for trade resulted in overhunting and depletion of natural resources, which in turn meant that Ainu were unable to fulfil set quotas and ended up in debt (Walker 150). In 1799 the shogunate took control of the Japanese-Sakhalin trade (Walker 150). Officials of the

shogunate banned Ainu from trading with continental people who went to Sakhalin which meant that Ainu were unable to trade independently. This isolated Ainu from the continent, from their traditional commercial activities and from their historically held cultural ties with other societies (Walker 151).

The first official documents that recorded Ainu as proto-subjects of Japan were population registries in 1799 (Iwano 57). At this time Ainu were technically not subject to Japanese law due to the establishment of the *Ezo Shidai*, a system in which Ainu would regulate and sort out their own issues (Maher 328). In reality, local Japanese contractors created their own local policies and rules that Ainu had to abide by. An example of this is when Ainu were banned by Matsumae officials from speaking Japanese and from using Japanese customs (Maher 328), which meant that interactions between Ainu and *wajin* were further restricted due to the diminished ability to communicate. These language bans were inconsistent: the Ainu were sometimes banned from speaking Ainu, then the policies or even the rules enforced by local authorities would change, and they would be allowed to speak Ainu again, but banned from using Japanese. Following the colonization of Hokkaido there were also assimilationist policies aimed at restricting traditional Ainu practices, such as the 1871 ban of women's tattoos, men wearing earrings, and burning the homes of the deceased, along with the continued enforcement of Ainu learning and using the Japanese language (Asahi Shimbun). This policy was created even though, after assuming office in 1870, the second prime minister of Japan Kuroda Kiyotaka, stated his aim that "the natives should be treated with affection, protected and educated" (Siddle "Race and Resistance" 61). This policy, which denied Ainu tradition, cannot be said to align with this statement.

When looking at how Ainu culture and language were forced into decline through official channels, it is worth noting that the authorities were also wary of those involved in Ainu welfare. British missionary John Batchelor (1855-1944) and the missionary group that he was affiliated with founded several schools in Hokkaido which contributed to Ainu welfare and education. In 1885, Batchelor was prosecuted for living with the Ainu, outside the areas designated for foreigners (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 69). Batchelor’s prosecutor admitted that the reasons behind this prosecution were political and were motivated by Batchelor’s work related to Ainu education (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 69). The prosecution is recorded as having stated that “Mr. Batchelor is trying to make the Ainu language live while we desire it to die out” (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 69), a statement that shows the objectives held by officials at the time. Prior to this incident, the way that Ainu were referred to changed. In 1878, the term *dojin* (aborigine) was replaced by *kyūdojin* (former aborigine) and the term *horobiyuku gengo* (language on the road to extinction) was introduced (Maher 329). This term emerged after the assimilationist policies of the Meiji Period that restricted education to only being conducted in Japanese. This contributed to Ainu language rapidly disappearing from everyday conversation. Thus, the idea of Ainu being a dying language, a dying culture, and a dying people began to permeate discussions and politics surrounding the Ainu (Ainu Seisaku Suishin-Shitsu “*Gozonji Desu ka*”).

Ainu and *wajin* who moved to Hokkaido historically referred to each other by a variety of different names. *Wajin* are known to have referred to Ainu as *ezo*, *ijin*, and *iteki*, meaning barbarian; Ainu referred to Japanese people as *shamo*⁸, or *shisam*⁹ (Siddle “Race and

⁸ From a Japanised pronunciation of the Ainu word *samo*, neighbour. In comparison to *shisam*, *shamo* is somewhat derogatory (Selden 166).

⁹ Means “one’s neighbour” (Selden 167).

Resistance” 5). Another derogatory term referring to Ainu that was used is *rettō minzoku* which means ‘inferior people’ (Ueno 38). *Dojin*, was also used to refer to Ainu, meaning ‘aborigine’ or ‘native’. Although the word *dojin* was replaced by the aforementioned *kyūdojin*, it still has rather negative connotations. Regardless, it was still used in the title of official documents and laws such as the 1899 *Kyūdojin Hogo Hō*—Former Aborigines Protection Act. I have included these terms in an attempt to show the historical general perception of Ainu by Japan, as well as in political discourse. When looking at the historical perception of Ainu from a Russian viewpoint Chekhov provides insight. After Chekhov’s journey to Sakhalin in 1890 when it was a penal colony, he described Ainu women as follows:

“Around the cauldron some monsters are sitting. The Aino’s wives and mothers are as unattractive as the men are sturdy and handsome. (205)”.

British explorer Isabella Bird’s (1831-1904) view of the Ainu is also an example of the negative perception of Ainu that was prevalent among foreign visitors who met Ainu at the time, shown through comments such as “[the Ainu are] a harmless people without the instinct of progress” (Bird 231).

In Hokkaido, the Matsumae family were granted exclusive rights to trade with the Ainu in 1604—before Japan is known to have had contact with Karafuto Ainu—by the then shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543 - 1616), an arrangement that remained in place until 1799 (Walker 36). This trade arrangement meant that the Ainu would have to rely on the Matsumae to facilitate trade and in turn the Matsumae relied on the Ainu for trade and labour. The existence of the Ainu was the basis for their political power. The relationship between the Matsumae and Ainu was not without tension. In 1669, led by an Ainu chief called Shakushain (1606–1669), the Ainu rebelled and killed 270 people when *wajin* visited Ainu villages (Kiyama 56). This event is known as *Shakushain no Ran*—Shakushain's Revolt—or *Kanmon Kunen no Ezo Hoki* —

Ainu Uprising of Kanmon, 9th Year. There were multiple events that contributed to this uprising, such as the trade relationship between the Matsumae and the Ainu deteriorating at the Ainu's expense, and the humiliation of Ainu chieftain, Kekurake, by Kakizaki Kurando¹⁰, a high ranked Japanese official (Kiyama 58). Relief armies were requested from Japan, with the confrontation lasting into the early 1670s before eventually being resolved in 1672 (Kiyama 56).

From the 17th century onwards the Japanese state advanced northwards. In 1869 the *Kaitakushi*—Hokkaido Colonisation Commission—was established and led by Meiji period diplomat Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840 – 1900), who became the second Prime Minister of Japan, in 1888. In the early 1870s, Kuroda recruited former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Horace Capron (1804 - 1885), who went to Hokkaido as a foreign expert for the *Kaitakushi*. Capron advised on various policies and matters such as development of farmland and agriculture. The *Kaitakushi* aimed to cultivate Hokkaido and assimilate Ainu into mainland culture. The government invested it with immense power, civil and military authority, and money (Irish 117). By 1885, there were 280,000 *wajin* living in Hokkaido, predominantly in coastal areas and Sapporo (Irish 138).

Abe mentions her father's love of Japan several times in *Lights of Okhotsk*. Abe's father was born in Hokkaido and spent some of his youth growing up there due to the 1875 forced relocation of 841 Karafuto Ainu in which 108 families, including Abe's father's, were relocated to Hokkaido. This equaled approximately 35% of the population of *Enchiw* at the time (Inoue 76). They were initially taken from southern Sakhalin to Sōya, then in 1876 were transported to Otaru on warships before being sent to Tsuishikari, north of Sapporo in

¹⁰ Unable to locate birth and death dates for Kekurake or Kakizaki.

Hokkaido (Inoue 76). As a result of smallpox and cholera epidemics that swept across Japan in 1886 and 1887, approximately half of the Ainu inhabitants of Tsuishikari died (Inoue 77). The Tsuishikari Ainu were treated differently to *wajin* and Hokkaido Ainu, they were used to test policies that were then applied to Hokkaido Ainu (Inoue 79). The Russo-Japanese war ended in 1905 and Japan took control of the southern half of Sakhalin, renaming it Karafuto. The majority of the Ainu still in Tsuishikari returned to their homeland, but they were unable to go back to their home villages due to them being occupied by others, or simply not being allowed by the authorities (Inoue 78).

In 1884, 97 Ainu from the Northern Kuril Islands, known as the Kuril Ainu or the Chishima Ainu, were ordered by the Japanese government to relocate to a previously uninhabited island called Shikotan (Kuroiwa 286). The Chishima Ainu who were taken to Shikotan are recorded as numbering only three by 1945 (Kuroiwa 286). In a census undertaken in 1941 by the Hokkaido government it is stated that “The Kuril people who had been relocated were forced to rear cattle, but they were unable to do disciplined work and were ruined along with their cattle” (Hokkaido government 1957, 80, from Kuroiwa “Northern Challenges” 286).

In 1899 the *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo Hō* (Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act) was created, supposedly for the purpose of protecting the Ainu people. It was modelled on the US legislation known as the *Dawes Act for Native Americans in Oklahoma* (Okada 6). The Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act had five main points, two of which were related to education. These points stated that tuition would be provided for Ainu children who were in ‘destitution’ and that primary schools would be established in the Ainu communities (Maruyama “Japan's Policies” 156). The schools for Ainu children were inferior to the schools

established for *wajin* children and forced the Ainu children to be educated in the Japanese language (Maruyama “Japan's Policies” 157). In 1901, the *Kyūdojin Jidōkyōiku Kitei* (Regulation for the Education of Former Aborigines’ Children) was established, separating Ainu and *wajin* children into different schools (Maruyama “Japan's Policies” 157). This colonial policy of segregation continued until 1937 (Maruyama “Japan's Policies” 157). Twenty-five of these schools, known as *Ainu Gakkō* (Ainu schools) or *Kyūdojin Gakkō* (schools for former aborigines), were established (Hokkai Web). A curriculum for Ainu children was created: the *Kyūdojin Kyōiku Kitei* (Education Rules for Former Aborigines) which was introduced in 1916 and included teaching Ainu children subjects such as Japanese language, ethics and morals, calisthenics, sewing, agriculture, and arithmetic (Hokkai Web).

The 1900s were a period of tumultuous change for Japan with the rise and fall of the Japanese Empire and Japan’s participation in several wars. Ainu were recruited as soldiers in wars between Japan and foreign powers, an example being the invasion of Manchuria (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 139). During the latter half of the 20th century, the bubble economy, political, and economic happenings were at the forefront of the government’s mind. Ainu were not well represented at the governmental level. Political organisation and resistance to assimilation was difficult due to various factors. One factor was that the Ainu were geographically scattered making it difficult to form unified organisations until the 1930s. This is when the first association comprised completely of Ainu was formed, the Hokkaido Utari Kyōkai (now known as the Hokkaido Ainu Kyōkai) was created with the intention of discussing revisions to the *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo Hō*—Hokkaidō Former Aborigines Protection Act—of 1899 (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 134), to retain land given to Ainu under the Agricultural Land Act regardless of whether or not the lands were being cultivated, the return of expropriated land in Niikappu (southeast of Sapporo) and the control of land in

Asahikawa (northeast of Sapporo) that had been promised to the Ainu (Maruyama “Japan's Post-War” 204).

During this time the *wajin* population in Hokkaido continued to grow, increasing to close to five million by 1956 (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 153). As the *wajin* population continued to grow, the gap in prosperity and living standards between Ainu and *wajin* was made apparent by a survey published in the mid 1960s. The survey showed that many Ainu were living in poverty with 17.5% on welfare and 38.2% of Ainu households being around the poverty line (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 154). Many Ainu moved away from Hokkaido, becoming a part of mainstream Japanese society or as migrant workers who worked as day labourers in cities such as Tokyo and Osaka (Siddle “Race and Resistance” 155). As of 2013 a survey conducted by the Hokkaido local government states that the percentage of Ainu youth who attended school was high, but still lower than the average across Japan. 92.6% of those at high school age were shown to attend high school whereas 98.6% of the non-Ainu population attended high school (Kōeki Shadanhōjin Hokkaidō “Seikatsu Jittai”). 25.8% of Ainu were shown to have advanced to tertiary education—far less than the 42% of the non-Ainu population (Kōeki Shadanhōjin Hokkaidō Ainu Kyōkai “Seikatsu Jittai”). The same survey carried out in 2017 showed that the number of Ainu attending high school had risen to 95.1%, and those advancing to tertiary education had reached 33.3% (Ainu Seisaku Suishin-shitsu “Jittai Chōsa” 2).

In spite of the fact that many Ainu went to mainland Japan, Ainu are often spoken of as still living mainly in Hokkaido. In actuality no-one knows how many people of Ainu descent there actually are and where they now live. According to statistics collected through a survey conducted by the Hokkaido local government in 2013, there were 16,786 Ainu across 66 municipalities (Kōeki Shadanhōjin Hokkaidō Ainu Kyōkai). The results of the most recent

survey shows that as of 2017 there are 13,118 Ainu living across 63 municipalities (Ainu Seisaku Suishin-shitsu “Jittai Chōsa” 1). These surveys rely on people knowing that they are of Ainu heritage and being willing to identify themselves as Ainu, which means they may not accurately represent the numbers of Ainu living in Hokkaido. One of the reasons that people may not be willing to identify as Ainu include the continued harsh discrimination against Ainu, a topic mentioned multiple times throughout *Lights of Okhotsk*. For many Ainu, hiding their Ainu heritage and adapting to *wajin* culture was the most effective way to ensure that they were not discriminated against (Emori 470). This discrimination also acted as a deterrent for children against learning the Ainu language. In the latter half of the 20th century, language programmes were established in Hokkaido but children are said to have been hesitant to attend because then their status as Ainu would be known in the wider community and they could be subject to prejudice (Anderson & Iwasaki-Goodman 62-63). According to the aforementioned 2013 survey, 23.4% of those interviewed reported that they had experienced some sort of discrimination due to being of Ainu heritage. 9.6% reported that they knew someone who had been discriminated against (Kōeki Shadanhōjin Hokkaidō Ainu Kyōkai).

The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has recommended that a survey on the living conditions of Ainu be carried out nationwide, which would include figures on the Ainu population, but this has not happened. The most recent nationwide survey conducted outside of Hokkaido was in the Tokyo metropolitan area in 1988 (Kōeki Shadanhōjin). Karafuto Ainu/*Enchiw* having been displaced multiple times which makes it even more difficult to conduct accurate surveys. Morris-Suzuki highlights the difficulties of calculating the number of *Enchiw* living in Japan:

“...because of the complex history of multiple displacements of Karafuto Ainu, it is extremely difficult for *Enchiw*/ Karafuto Ainu even to document their own origins, which means that they are almost entirely excluded from enumerations of the Ainu population.” (“Performing Ethnic Harmony” 11).

Aside from the difficulty of finding figures on the Ainu population, there are difficulties in finding people who are willing to respond to surveys that may make it known that they are Ainu.

Historically, Ainu have not had an influential voice in politics or relationships with the Japanese government and were not consulted regarding laws and policies created that affected or concerned them. A 1997 special report published for the UN “Working Group on Indigenous Peoples” by special rapporteur Miguel Martinez stated that various groups of indigenous people around the world, including the Ainu, “are examples of indigenous peoples who never actually entered into consensual juridical relations with any State” (Martinez 20). This further highlights the power over the Ainu the Japanese government possessed and continues to possess. Siddle also points to this imbalance in political power between Ainu and the Japanese government, stating that “Unlike those states where the legal political relationship between state and indigenous peoples is based on (usually dishonoured) treaty arrangements, Ainu were forcibly incorporated within Japan without negotiation” (“Limits to Citizenship” 457). This highlights how the Ainu have been excluded from making political decisions about their own autonomy.

In 1997, the Japanese government abolished the 1899 *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo Hō* and created a new law, the *Ainu Bunka no Shinkō Narabi ni Ainu no Dentō-tō ni Kansuru Chishiki no Fukyū Oyobi Keihatsu ni Kansuru Hōritsu*, or Act on the Promotion of Ainu Culture, and

Dissemination and Enlightenment of Knowledge about Ainu Tradition or, in short, the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act (ACPA). It was the first legislature in Japan to promote the ethnic culture of a minority and encourage multiculturalism (Siddle “Epoch Making Event”). This legislation aimed to promote Ainu tradition including crafts and dance, with the national government endeavouring to promote measures that ensure the continuance of Ainu culture, and local governments implementing these measures (Shugiin). This law was inherently problematic, as it did not acknowledge past injustices to the Ainu or that they are an indigenous people. One of the issues was that it affirmed Ainu identity through officially recognising Ainu while simultaneously denying their identity and illustrating the power the government had over them (Siddle “Epoch Making” 421). As stated by Hiroshi Maruyama, it does not protect indigenous rights of the Ainu that are protected under international human rights law (“Japan’s Policies” 162). The *Kōeki Zaidanhōjin Ainu Minzoku Bunka Zaidan*, or Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture—FRPAC, is run by subsidies from the Japanese and Hokkaido governments and was designated as the sole corporation with the authority to carry out the services stipulated in the law (Maruyama “Japan’s Policies” 162). Siddle points out another issue with this law, in that it protects culture and tradition, but not the Ainu people themselves (“Limits to Citizenship” 457).

In 2007 the UN published a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which was adopted by the general assembly. There were 144 states for the declaration, eleven abstentions, and four against: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States (UN Declaration on Rights), all of which have indigenous minorities, and all of which have since reversed their objections and favoured the declaration (UN Declaration on Rights). Following this declaration there was added pressure on the Japanese government by Ainu. This was through activities such as a summit called the “Indigenous Peoples Summit in Ainu Mosir” and

the Nibutani Declaration on Indigenous Peoples in 2008 (Maruyama “Japan’s Policies” 164). The government released a statement regarding Ainu in 2008. It acknowledged historical discrimination and poverty as a result of Japan’s modernisation, and recognised the Ainu as an indigenous people from Northern Japan (Maruyama “Japan’s Policies” 164). The statement talks about the intention to set up an advisory council for future policies concerning Ainu (Maruyama “Japan’s Policies” 164). As a result, the Advisory Council for Future Ainu Policy (ACFAP) was established in August 2008, with the aim of having expert members discuss future policies regarding Ainu (Tanabe 2). In 2009, this council consisted of eight members with only one Ainu, and in the final report published in 2009, the ACFAP justified the colonisation of Ainu land, stating that it was urgently developed by the Meiji government due to the threat of Western powers (Maruyama “Japan’s Policies” 165).

In April 2019 the Japanese government announced a new law called the *Heisei 31 Hōritsu Dai 16 Gō, Ainu no Hitobito no Hokori ga Sonchōsareru Shakai wo Jitsugensuru Tame no Shisaku no Suishin ni Kansuru Hōritsu*, the “Act on Promoting Measures to Realize a Society in Which the Pride of the Ainu People Is Respected, Act No. 16 of 2019” (“the Ainu Policy Promotion Act”) which replaces the 1997 Ainu Culture Promotion Act (ACPA). This law came into effect on the 24th of May 2019. This law has come about following what happened in 2008, when Ainu were recognised as an indigenous people of Japan after both houses of the Japanese Diet passed a resolution to prompt the administration to do so (Tsunemoto 1). There is also a museum, the National Ainu Museum and Park —Upopoy—, slated to open in April 2020 before the Olympics which is supposed to become a centre for the revival of Ainu culture. It will be Hokkaido’s first national museum and will be located in the town of Shiraoi.

Ainu have become more widely represented in media and pop culture. For example there is an Ainu language radio show called the *Ainu Rajio Kōza* that has been running since the 1980s.

A very popular manga series called *Gōruden Kamui* (The Golden *Kamuy*) by Noda Satoru is currently being published and represents many different aspects of Ainu culture as well as fictional depictions of life in Hokkaido in the latter half of the 1800s was like. There is also an anime adaptation that began airing in 2018. Ainu have featured in a song by Japanese musical group, *Suiyōbi no Campanera* (Wednesday Campanella) who released a song about Ainu chief, Shakushain, in 2015. Very recently, in January 2020 one of the winners of prestigious literary award, the Akutagawa Prize, was *Netsugen* (2019)—Heat Source—by Kawagoe Soichi. It is about Karafuto Ainu following the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and their struggles against an overwhelming wave of modernity and change. These representations of Ainu in popular culture and media are important because it celebrates and reminds people of Ainu culture.

Chronology of Abe and her Ancestors

Original text by Hashida Yoshinori and Tamura Masato

Translated by myself from *Lights of Okhotsk* (2015) pages 249-250

18 th century – First half of the 19 th century	Southern Karafuto Ainu residents come under the influence of the Edo shogunate. Northern residents under the Qing dynasty.
1858 - 1860	The left bank of the Amur River and coastal region become Russian territory due to the Aigun Treaty and the Convention of Peking. Following this, Japan and Russia come into conflict regarding possession of Sakhalin.
1875	The entirety of Sakhalin becomes Russian territory due to the St. Petersburg Treaty. Along with the repatriation of <i>wajin</i> , 841 Karafuto Ainu emigrate to Sōya (Wakkanai) on the opposite shore [Abe's father's side of the family]. Approximately 1,200 Ainu continue living in Sakhalin once it became Russian territory [Abe's mother's side of the family].
1876	Forcible relocation of Ainu who had relocated to Sōya to Tsuishikari (Ebetsu) via Otaru. After this they enter Japan's family register. [Father's family].
1890's	One after the other, Karafuto Ainu in Hokkaido return to Russian occupied Sakhalin [Father's family].

1892	Abe's father Tomita Kyūtarō is born (According to the Ebetsu family register).
Around 1896	Father's family returns to Russian occupied Sakhalin from Hokkaido.
1901	Abe's mother Ouchi (Torii) Hama is born.
1905	The Japanese army occupies (Russian) Sakhalin at the end of the Russo-Japanese war that had started the previous year. The land south of the 50 th parallel (where Karafuto Ainu reside) becomes Japanese territory according to the Portsmouth Treaty.
1907	Kindaichi Kyōsuke and others conduct a survey in Ochiho.
1908	The Karafuto government begins making villages for Karafuto Ainu to live together with a focus on fixed-net fishing.
1910 – 1912	Yamabe Yasunosuke and Hanamori Shinkichi participate in Shirase Nobu's Antarctic expedition as dogsled drivers.
1911	Abe's grandfather on her father's side Naezawa Kyūbei dies.
1912 – 1914	The Karafuto government consolidates Karafuto Ainu from Tomunai, Ochiho and Minamiobusaki into the village of Ochiho.
1929	Kindaichi Kyōsuke and others conduct another survey.
1933	From January, Karafuto Ainu not already in Japan's family register are entered [Mother's side]. Abe Yoko born in March to the Tomita family who run a fishing business. Abe is the 7 th child, first girl. In April the school for Karafuto Ainu is integrated with the <i>wajin</i> primary school.
1936	Abe's family moves into the building that was formerly used as the school.
1939	Abe enters Ochiho's primary school.

1941	In her third year of primary school, walks to Toyohara as part of a school trip.
1943	Third brother Hisakatsu dies in an accident.
1944	Eldest brother returns home from the military.
1945	Japan loses the war; Abe is 12 years old. They attempt to go to Japan on the ferry from Ōdomari but cannot and return to Ochiho. Ochiho is occupied by the Russian military, Abe's family lives with a Russian family who move to Ochiho.
1947	[Maternal] Grandfather, Torii Yoshimatsu dies.
1948	Abe is 15 years old. On the first of November they ride on the repatriation ship from Maoka's port and arrive in Hakodate. One week after arriving in Japan, father, Kyūtarō dies on the 8 th of November, age 53. Family move to a repatriate residence in Memurochō, Hokkaido. Abe earns money as a nanny.
1949	Grandmother, Torii Take dies at age 72.
1952	Abe contracts tuberculosis.
1953	Becomes an apprentice at a barbershop at age 20.
1955 – 1956	Studies at Kushiro Riyo-biyō (Hairdressing) School.
1958	Marries, has two children.
1963	Opens a salon in Tomakomai.
1966	Symptoms of heart disease appear.
1968	Moves to Kawasaki.
1980	Second marriage, takes the surname 'Abe'.
1992	Mother, Hama, dies at age 92.

2004	Returns home to Ochiho for the first time.
2005	First grave visit in 57 years.
2013	Makes an offering to relatives in the Ochiho graveyard.

Overview of the Autobiography

In this section I will provide an abbreviated overview of *Lights of Okhotsk* focusing on the sections that will not be translated. Abe Yoko was born in Ochiho (present day Lesnoye) on the 11th March 1933, the seventh child and first girl born to Tomita Hama and Kyūtarō. Abe had five older brothers. There had also been an adopted daughter who passed away before Abe's birth. Following Abe were three more girls, one more boy and a stillborn girl. Abe's family lived in a building that had previously been a school built in 1909, established at the behest of linguist, Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882–1971). Abe's mother, Hama, was proud to have been one of the first pupils of that school and influenced strongly by her memories of Kindaichi spending time in Ochiho. The school merged with the local *wajin* school in April of 1933 and Abe's family moved into the old schoolhouse that was no longer in use.

Abe's family managed three fishing grounds but with the beginning of the war and the conscription of the young men the grounds ended up being worked by elderly men. As a result of the war Abe's house grew emptier as her older brothers were conscripted. When one of Abe's older brothers was eighteen years old, he took some of her younger siblings out in the ocean but fell out of the boat and drowned which was a huge blow for her family.

Abe recounts her childhood fondly. Abe and her siblings grew up surrounded by nature and lived according to the seasons. Foraging, hunting, and fishing were significant parts of their everyday lives. With the beginning of the war and low literacy rates in the village Abe's mother used to read the newspaper to everyone who came to listen. When the war ended and Karafuto was invaded by the Soviet Army, Abe and her family attempted to flee but ultimately ended up remaining in Karafuto until 1948 when they were sent to Hokkaido. Abe's father passed away of stomach cancer shortly after their arrival in Japan and the family moved into housing built specifically for 'repatriates'. Abe was separated from her family for four years and worked as a nanny in order to support her family, during this time her family endured discrimination and resentment for both being Ainu, and also due to being outsiders who were brought to Hokkaido from Karafuto.

At age eighteen, Abe contracted tuberculosis, the doctor who treated her was also from Karafuto and treated her kindly, without prejudice. This added tuberculosis to the discrimination Abe already faced for being Ainu. As a result of one of her older brothers being dismissed from his job due to MacArthur's Red Purge.¹¹ Abe struggled to find employment but eventually began training to work at a salon. Whilst working at the salon, Abe was proposed to by one of her regular customers, but his father secretly went to the salon to investigate her and consequentially the man who proposed to her stopped going to the salon.

Abe met her first husband through a matchmaker; he was a projection technician at the Memurochō movie theatre. They had a happy life as newlyweds and had two children. But due

¹¹ The Red Purge, or just the Purge was ordered by General Douglas MacArthur during the United States' occupation of Japan following the war. The aim was to tighten restrictions on unions, many union members who held both public sector or private jobs were fired.

to an incident of discrimination against her three-year-old daughter, Abe decided that it was not a good place to raise her children. She separated from her husband, moved to Tomakomai with her two children and opened her own salon. The salon was incredibly busy, Abe worked long hours but tired quickly and experienced dizziness. After a medical examination she found out that she had heart trouble. Despite this, Abe continued to work long hours, often until midnight. As Abe's health suffered, it affected her ability to work. With her more frequent absences, the customers slowly decreased. The salon closed and Abe moved to Kawasaki where she worked at a company during the day, then bagged sugar at night until she eventually needed to be carried away in an ambulance. Due to her children urging her to marry again, Abe remarried and continued living in Kawasaki. In 1992, at the age of 92, Abe's mother passed away in the hospital in Kawasaki.

The restrictions on travel to Sakhalin gradually loosened. In 2004, Abe was able to visit her homeland for the first time in 56 years. She arrived in Ōdomari, speechless to be back. Abe visited the post office in Toyohara where her second oldest brother had worked then went to visit the house her family had lived in, the trees lining the path had grown from saplings to giants in the half century she had not seen them. The house where Abe had been born had been replaced with a meeting hall for the locals. Abe's family had lived there for a time, then once the Ainu children started going to the *wajin* school, Abe's family moved into the school previously used by Ainu that had been established by Kindaichi. They lived there from 1933 until they were taken to Hokkaido.

Chapter Three

This chapter consists of a translation of an excerpt from *Lights of Okhotsk*. This excerpt focuses on Abe's life when she was growing up in Ochiho and is split into four sections, one for each season. Following this is more in-depth research into some of the main themes of this excerpt such as the importance of technical indigenous knowledge which features strongly in this section of *Lights of Okhotsk*. Ainu cuisine and ingredients that Abe's family used regularly also feature in this excerpt and will be discussed in more detail.

The Seasons

Translation One - Pages 50 - 68

Autumn

After obon¹², a group from the village would go into the mountains with 18 litre drums on their backs to pick lingonberries¹³. A few barrels would be put aside and salted as a valuable source of food in the winter. You could make jam or wash the salt off and munch on them. Aside from that, putting washed berries, boiled potatoes and seal fat into a mortar and crushing it all with a pestle made a delicious salad. We called it *chikaripe*. It's the best Ainu delicacy, which we'd have during the bear festival. We only lacked rice.

Trout splashed up out of the Ochiho River behind the house. There were so many that if you put your bare feet into the river, you'd get injured. The ones with rounded mouths are females.

¹² Buddhist custom of honouring one's ancestors.

¹³ Similar to cranberries.

I'd stick my fingers into both eyes, throw one up on the bank, cut the stomach open with a small knife and put the roe into a cask. When the cask was about half full, I'd wait for my older brother to come and collect it. Once, someone appeared on the opposite bank. When our eyes met he disappeared swiftly. My brother told me not to tell anyone because apparently. He was a deserter. I gazed at the pine grove, hoping that he would go far, far away; praying that he'd be able to survive on lingonberries.

When catching fish from the river there were rules of a sort. Everyone knew that large salmon made nests under the roots of large trees. One boy turned such a spot into his secret hidey-hole. One day when we saw that he wasn't there, we went over, in high spirits. As we'd thought, there were some huge salmon there. I decided to catch one before he got back. I caught a big one, but it was stronger than me and pulled me into the river. My friends clapped and convulsed with laughter. "Damn it!" Just then the boy showed up. "Yoko-chan, what're you doing in my spot?" Then he pushed me back into the river. It was mortifying, right in front of my friends. When he went to pull me out, I sank my teeth into his arm. "You're biting me? Will you scratch me too? Owwww it hurts." he said staring at me in amazement. Using a stick I slapped the surface of the water on impulse, chasing the two salmon in the hole away. Served him right.

That boy passed away in Showa 36 (1961) in September. One more classmate gone.

To prepare us for winter, my grandma used to make mittens and socks for the four of us. They had thinly rolled-out cotton sandwiched between two layers of fabric, so they were really warm. Thanks to her, our hands and feet were toasty throughout the winter.

There were four thick ropes hanging from the ceiling with square, netted baskets filled with herring, cod and layer upon layer of herring roe. Once it was all dry it was stored in a wooden

box as reserves for winter. I looked forward to going to grandma's house because I could take out of the wooden box and eat whichever was my favourite. My little sister, the one closest in age to me, once ate some dried herring roe and it got stuck in her throat. "Guhh, guhh," she cried as her face turned blue. Even when she was made to drink water, or when we tried to push the roe down her throat with our fingers, it wouldn't budge. My grandpa happened to be holding an *inaw*¹⁴, and he opened her mouth so wide that it seemed as though her jaw would dislocate. He used the *inaw* to push the roe down her throat and into her stomach. She bled a bit, but narrowly escaped with her life. Grandpa told us that it was thanks to the deity within the *inaw*. We didn't touch the box of stored food after that. My little sister sobbed; her whole face covered in tears. Grandpa heated up some *doburoku*¹⁵ with sugar and gave her a little to drink. Everyone heaved a sigh of relief; it had been a tough day at the Torii house.

As tobacco became gradually harder to get, heavy smokers started gathering dried Japanese knotweed leaves (we used to call it *dongui*). They then crushed it into small pieces, rolled it in paper and puffed away.

Winter

The snow that was blown up from the ground piled into snow drifts in the spaces between the houses. I would deliver side dishes for dinner to grandma's house, going through however many snowdrifts on the way.

Surrounded by Japanese white birch trees, it was a peaceful life. The house, built by stacking split logs on top of each other with moss stuffed in the crevices, was impervious to any cold,

¹⁴A ritual stick used in traditional Ainu prayers.

¹⁵A type of unrefined sake.

and the large stove that my father made from a steel drum kept us warm. If you heaped the embers to the front and put two or three logs (up to a meter long) into the stove, they'd burn for a long time; it was like summer inside. We put frozen *mikan*¹⁶ on the stove, they rolled around while cooking, then we'd eat them. The centre was bitter, but even so, a *mikan* is a *mikan*. There was a shortage of sweets, so we roasted whole beetroot on the stove. Kind of like how people roasted sweet potato in Japan. Once the beetroot was soft, we cut it into four and ate it.

We grated a mountain of potatoes into a large bowl, put the potato into a cloth bag and squeezed. Then mixed in the starch that came out back into the potato and rolled the mixture into 3cm balls. The balls would be added to *oshiruko* soup, made from beetroot and boiled-down azuki bean paste. For our family of nine, a dinner of *oshiruko* made with beetroot was a luxury.

On New Year's we enjoyed playing our handmade 100 poems by 100 famous poets, *hanafuda*¹⁷, *honbiki* (a gambling game), and cards. For *honbiki*, 12 or 13 people formed a ring and pulled strings that had been marked beforehand. Whoever pulled the winning string would receive the stakes. When we played 100 poems, I never let anyone take the two cards with "Then for a while I could detain these messengers in maiden form¹⁸" and "And now the bedroom shutters are keeping light and life from me¹⁹" on them, but I didn't care so much about the rest. This, at least, was fun.

Snow always fell in the frozen, silent, stillness of the night. We were tormented by unbelievable shivering fits in the mornings. If it got to -40°C even oil froze and stray cats, dogs, crows and

¹⁶ Similar to tangerine oranges.

¹⁷ A traditional Japanese card game.

¹⁸ Translation from University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center Japanese Text Initiative
<http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/hyakunin/hyakua.html>

¹⁹ Translation from University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center Japanese Text Initiative
<http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/hyakunin/hyakua.html>

sparrows would lie scattered around on top of the pure, white snow. Once, on the way to school I was suddenly struck by the thought that it was like a zoo on top of the snow. I stood a brown cat and a black and white spotted cat up face to face. Then I lined the dogs and the birds up and hurried to school. When I returned home there was a big uproar in the village. “Who would do something like that?! This kid? Or maybe that one?” Finally, my name came up, but “There’s no way that quiet child would do something like that. No mistake about it, someone must’ve made her do it”. I was taken aback by how appalled my mother was when she found out that I was the true culprit. She was completely floored; steam came out of her ears. Still wearing my hat and mittens, I stood ramrod straight, in the middle of the room as my parents berated me. I gazed at the roast potato on the stove and thought about how I’d like to hurry up and eat it. Our twelve sled dogs barked energetically, demanding their dinner.

The next day I acted more like a young girl and played ‘house’ with my younger siblings. We built a *hina-dan*²⁰ using a long icicle that was hanging from the roof of the stable. The horse poked its face out from under the straw thatched roof and snorted through its nose, messing up our *hina-dan* “Ponko (‘*pon*’ means small) what are you doing??” For the four of us it was a day of tear stained faces.

Ice floes lined up in the ocean, like a frozen *tatami*²¹. White seal pups popped up through the cracks. Us children would wait for them, then make simple loops out of rope and put it around their necks. Then the athletics would begin as the pup’s mothers watched anxiously from a distance. We looked at the mothers gleefully out of the corners of our eyes. A long-ago day surrounded by nature.

²⁰ A stand for the *Hina Matsuri* dolls.

²¹ Traditional Japanese flooring made from rushes and cloth.

On a clear morning of -40°C, twenty-six students were split into two groups and went to school once everyone had gathered. Our breath sparkled in the air like diamond dust. The children ran about here and there, “If you go over there you can see lots of it!” You had to squint and hold your hand in front of your eyes to block the dazzling sparkles. If you walked ahead and then looked over your shoulder the rays of the sun became a consolidated beam of light, a sun pillar.

“It’s shining so beautifully,” we said as we hurried to school. There is a bridge there now, between the mountain behind our house and the Takemura Corporation’s bamboo stockpile. Steam rose from the surface of the river and cloaked the willows that lined the bank, frozen and white. Before you knew it, buds would show their faces on the willows, inviting spring. After a week, pure white fibres appeared that we wrapped in cotton and toasted lightly so that it became a ‘Japanese hornet.’ We tied 50cm strings to them and ran as fast as possible so that it flew. In this way we created our own games.

Grandpa and the others used skis with seal skin spotted with black attached to the bottom of boards that were about 10-13cm wide. I thought it was strange, but once I knew that you could ski smoothly down slopes, then when going uphill use the seal fur to grip so that you didn’t slide backwards, it made sense. Grandpa wore a top class black spotted overcoat. It was warm in the cold when he went to cut trees in the mountains. He wore his dog skin shoes, a saw, a knife and a hatchet at his waist. Add leather mittens and he was fully armed, ready to face the cold. Off he’d go, swishing a willow rod with the sled dogs pulling him to work. Those calm times are already a dream of a dream that I can’t return to.

Spring

Around when the rose gold pussy willows started budding, the river sang of spring. The rocks were washed clean as they waited. As the snow melted the wild edible plants started budding. There were flowers of the *fuki*²², pheasant's eye, alpine leeks, mountain mitsuba, soft windflower, royal fern, bracken, cows parsnip and giant knotwood. It was a happy season with fresh ingredients lined up on the table. There was a plant called cows parsnip that children loved eating, it's long, green and tubular, about 1.5cm in diameter and about 70-80cm long. It was peeled then eaten, if you ate two the sides of your mouth started to hurt, but even so, we were grateful to be able to eat wild plants in that time of food scarcity.

Cows parsnip was dried and used in winter salads called *chikaripe* in the Ainu language. It was the best kind of dish that would be at a bear festival, or any kind of gathering. Cows parsnip was in season around May/June and if it grew to about 50cm the root became white and sweet. We'd go into the thickets on the way to and from school to gather five or six, clutching them to our chests. Then peel the skin off and munch on it. We used to harvest about 100 of them, peel the skin, take the leaves off and dry them on poles in bundles of ten. By Autumn they were coated in a white residue and had gotten sweet. In winter we chopped it into 1cm pieces, adding dried cows parsnip to *chikaripe* enhanced the flavour.

In summer we softened dried herring roe in water and cut it into 1cm pieces. We would add a little *sahpe*²³ to colour it, a small amount of water and put it into the large, boat shaped bowl

²² Lagwort.

²³ Dried trout.

that grandpa had carved from wood. I wonder if that bowl is on display in a museum at the moment.

In Heisei 27 (2005) there was an exhibition called *The Exhibition of Ainu Items from the Ethnology Museum of Russia* at the Kawasaki City Museum. There were bowls that looked as though they could've been made by my grandfather. I was surprised to see mittens that looked like the ones that we used. It was very nostalgic, I'm glad I went.

The roe went into the bowl, then we used the rounded blade of a knife to go over it backwards and forwards, chopping it into small pieces. Then we'd add some salt and a little seal fat. The umami of the herring roe and the flavour of the trout mingled deliciously. Without exception we would make about fifty portions for the bear festival. The taste of herring roe is indescribable. *Chikaripe* can also be made with potatoes and lingonberries. Boil and mash the potatoes with a mortar, add a little salt and seal fat and there you have it, a dish that delighted children.

Grandma always made it for lunch, she added red lingonberries and lightly mashed the potatoes while they were still hot. You have to be careful because if you use too much strength, you'll turn it into potato *mochi*²⁴. We'd dish it into small bowls and stuff our cheeks, chomping away, using willow wooden spoons made by grandpa. Grandma watched us eat while smiling "Is it good?" she'd ask, "Yeah" we'd reply between mouthfuls. Lingonberries are the best snack. In winter we froze casks of lingonberries and never ran out through the year.

²⁴Potato *mochi* is a type of potato dumpling.

In spring I was lent out to help plough the fields in Upper Ochiho. It was a happy season on the Tomita land, when the cuckoos, warblers and other small birds could be heard singing. Ponko pulled the plow, row after row for potatoes, oats, barley and wheat. I stood on Ponko's left, holding the bridle in my right hand and we advanced together. My older brother would say "Yoko, fix your eyes on that big tree and go straight," but I always got scolded. "What are you doing?! I told you to go straight!" Ponko would stand behind me with perked ears despite the fact that I was getting scolded. I never took my eyes off the tree, but I used to stretch my arm out so that Ponko's rump would turn to the left and therefore wouldn't stand on my feet and we ended up curving. After turning the field over we made ridges and sowed seeds, when they sprouted you could see how the lines curved. When everyone from the neighbourhood came to help with the harvest they said "Yoko what tree were you aiming at?" and roared with laughter. I was always a big topic of conversation.

The *obentō*²⁵ I ate in the shed on the field was always particularly delicious. After eating all of the kids would go and have fun fishing for trout in the river. We played until we were sopping wet. We were all really close.

In the evening we stored the plow, harrow, hoe and shovel in the shed and went home in the horse cart. We'd get home around 8pm and eat dinner. The lamps would be lit, spreading a warm light through the room we used as both kitchen and dining room. Then our education obsessed mother would say "Study," with a face like an *oni*²⁶. But father responded with "What are you telling them to do at this time of night?" That's why I liked him.

²⁵ Packed lunchbox.

²⁶ A Japanese supernatural demon, devil, ogre.

Summer

Once it became summer, our house would be surrounded with fields of flowers blooming in profusion. Picking them made me happier than anything. We bottled white birch sap and cooled it in the deep well at grandma's house. My younger sister and I wanted to drink the juice, so we'd go and visit. There were these trees in front of the house that stood at a slant. They were Japanese Hawthorne and had fruit that looked like wild grapes. The fruit was very sweet, children loved it, but it was full of seeds and getting rid of them was a pain. We just ate them anyway and then got constipated. The skin around our mouths was stained black so we ate them saying "We look just like grandma." There were also currants that were about 7mm wide with orange flesh. When crushed they were very sweet. Along with wild strawberries, gooseberries and wild buckwheat they were an irreplaceable natural snack.

Central Ochiho only had about twenty houses but once a year there was a summer festival with handmade paper lanterns and floral decorations. The candles were lit and we'd have a lively celebration. We slipped *geta*²⁷ on and went out as a family in our new kimono. We watched films at the village theatre, *naniwabushi*²⁸ ballads and plays that were put on for everyone's enjoyment. The performers went around the village making plenty of noise, drawing people in. They went as far as the Torii grandparents' house before turning back. Children laughed uproariously and followed after them.

The festival began with the rise of the curtain. The shrine's stage was lively with provincial theatre plays, singing and dancing that concentrated on each respective village's story. It was

²⁷ Traditional Japanese sandals.

²⁸ Narratives told through song, popularised in the Edo era.

the most fun. The main event was undeniably sumo wrestling. Each village put forth their champion and the strongest would win. The next night we'd watch a film. The narrator read the manuscript in front of the candles. There were people who cried when watching Aizen Katsura²⁹, people who munched on *senbei*³⁰ and people who rustled their plastic bags. Rather than sitting straight on the straw mats there it was better to take your own floor cushions and blankets. The venue was engulfed in enthusiasm. Once the film was over the lights were lit, brightening the hall up. Everyone walked lightly home, full of satisfaction. It was as though you could see everyone's determination to do their best tomorrow.

Significant Themes of The Seasons

Through her description of the four seasons, how her family collected food and what their everyday life was throughout the year, Abe has given a clear description of her and her family's life in pre-WWII Ochiho. Local festivals, cuisine of the Ochiho Karafuto Ainu, hunting and fishing, foraging, agriculture, and local flora were all talked about in this excerpt. Through talking about these topics, Abe has illustrated the importance of indigenous traditional knowledge which will be further explored in this chapter. I will also focus on Ainu cuisine as it is a significant part of daily life and following the colonisation of both Karafuto and Hokkaido the diet of Ainu and Ainu cuisine changed greatly.

²⁹ Japanese film released in 1938.

³⁰ A type of Japanese rice cracker.

Traditional Knowledge

Along with giving a first-hand description of what everyday life in Ochiho was like for Abe and her family, this chapter highlights the importance of indigenous traditional knowledge, especially of flora and fauna that was significant for them when they lived in Karafuto. Abe provides an extensive list of some of the plants that were integral to her family's life. Names and uses of the plants, which may not be common knowledge, is provided along with personal anecdotes about Abe's memories growing up. The knowledge of these plants, methods of preservation, and use highlights the traditional ecological knowledge (also known as TEK) of the Karafuto Ainu. TEK and indigenous knowledge systems are immensely important reservoirs of systematic knowledge that are often passed down through oral traditions in indigenous cultures and minorities (Khasbagan & Soyolt 1).

There has been debate surrounding the term 'traditional ecological knowledge' centered around the use of the word 'traditional' as relegating this knowledge to the past and classifying it as being irrelevant to today's world. In contrast to this school of thought, Pierotti's defense of the use of the word 'traditional' argues that as a word it encapsulates the reality that traditional knowledge is a constantly evolving, growing and changing body of knowledge with a wide variety of influencing factors (12, 13). Pierotti also states that:

“At the same time, TEK is not so inclusive that it appears to incorporate all of the knowledge held by Indigenous peoples. Acknowledging the ecological component of such knowledge, however, establishes that TEK is scientific in most meaningful senses of the word. That is, TEK is based on empirical knowledge that has been collected over long periods of time and incorporated into an organized way of understanding how the world functions based on relationships observed and understood on a local scale.” (14)

This provides a solid framework for understanding what TEK can encompass and how important it is. Understanding and acknowledging the importance of TEK to both indigenous cultures and general reservoirs of knowledge around the world highlights why Abe's descriptions of 1930's Ochiho life is relevant to discussions of Karafuto.

Abe writing of her upbringing and life in conjunction with the seasons shows not only a snippet of her life growing up in Ochiho, but also the knowledge and way of life of the community she lived in. She provided information regarding when they harvested and planted certain crops, how they prepared their food and what natural resources they relied on. Abe's information about the local flora is relevant to discussions of indigenous and local communities' distinct ways of cataloguing and describing the environments they occupy. There are strong links between TEK and biodiversity (UNESCO "Biodiversity and Linguistic Diversity"). Traditional knowledge of the biodiversity of the land can include information such as the cataloguing of different species, uses, and management of plants by the indigenous and local people of an area which provides a basis of knowledge regarding local biodiversity (Khasbagan & Soyolt 1). Along with this, aspects of both language and culture are embedded in knowledge of local biodiversity. With the uprooting of communities and ongoing effects of colonialism, many aspects of TEK often fade into the background and are lost.

There are several fields of study such as ethnobiology, ethnobotany and ethnozoology that have arisen which focus on folk and traditional knowledge. All use the word 'ethno' in their title but there has been some dispute regarding the use of the terms 'ethno-' and also 'folk' when talking about traditional knowledge. In defense of their use, E. N. Anderson's words serve well:

"Some have contested the use of terms like "ethno-". "folk" and "traditional" for local knowledge, holding that such terms are pejorative. I find this attitude deplorable; the

correct procedure should be to insist on the value of folk creations and traditional ideas and practices. Folk, ethnic, and traditional music, art, dance, drama, narrative and food have certainly won full appreciation and acceptance from every sensitive observer. Folk knowledge deserves the same respect. Claiming that “folk”, “ethno-”, and “traditional” are pejorative³¹ terms is unacceptable snobbery.” (3)

I had some doubts about these terms, but throughout this thesis I will use both ‘ethno’ and ‘folk’ as necessary due to the strength of this argument.

Looking at the knowledge systems of indigenous people around the world emphasizes the immense loss of traditional knowledge due to the effects of hundreds of years of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The loss of traditional knowledge has a variety of flow on ramifications such as the loss of medicinal knowledge, knowledge of certain plant species and loss of the historical knowledge of an area. The retention of traditional knowledge results in important information staying available and being accessible to a wider audience, for example there have been instances of the folk name of a plant resulting in the scientific recording of ‘new’ species (Khasbagan & Soyolt 5). There are many different cultures around the world whose oral traditions and collective knowledge include important information regarding their local area, which is invaluable, but slowly being lost or forgotten due in part to the effects of colonisation and urbanisation. This is highlighted in recent research regarding the link between linguistic diversity and the environmental wellbeing of the planet (Rivenburgh). An example of this is a study on the ancestral sayings of the indigenous people of New Zealand, the Māori, which uncovered information about plant growth, soil and nutrients, ecological niches and communities along with landscape processes (UNESCO “Biodiversity and Linguistic Diversity”).

³¹ Italicised by original author.

Ainu Cuisine

The plants and food talked about in this chapter are important due to the fact that the vast majority of information about historical Ainu cuisine and knowledge of plant life focuses on Hokkaido, whereas this provides an overview of some of what was used and consumed by Ainu in Karafuto. Historically Ainu food consisted of wild plants and berries, game meat such as deer and bear, fish such as salmon and trout, and homegrown grains (Iwasaki-Goodman “Mothers to Daughters” 7). Hunter-gathering practices of the Ainu also played a significant role in dictating traditional gender roles (Watson 136). One staple dish of Ainu cuisine is *ohau*, a brothlike soup filled with a variety of ingredients, predominantly meat and vegetables (Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan). Abe described some of the local plants that comprised a part of her family’s diet and how they were consumed, she also outlined some of the Ainu dishes that were considered to be a delicacy in Karafuto at the time. Abe talks extensively about *chikaripe*, mentioning it multiple time throughout her autobiography. How to prepare it with berries and without, how much to mash the potato properly and the role this dish played in her childhood memories. Food played an indispensable role in the social organisation of Ainu life, daily life revolved around procuring, preparing and consuming food (Watson 136). Through mentioning Ainu specialties such as *chikaripe* and writing about how it was commonly served during the bear festival we are able to learn about the existence of this festival, community events and Abe’s family life. Connections between food, culture, identity and tradition are all shown throughout this excerpt.

The concept of foodways is relevant to this discussion of Ainu cuisine, foodways of indigenous people are everchanging and rooted deeply in tradition. Watson provides a definition of foodways in relation to Ainu as follows:

“On developing this definition, ‘foodways’, as I use it here, addresses food as embedded in the dynamic and mutable processes of indigenous (re: Ainu) identity that are constituted in and through engagement with the world. Wherever and whenever traditional food may be produced, distributed or consumed it continues to fortify identity construction.”

This further illustrates the role of food as an integral component of community and cultural identity regardless of the ‘when’ and ‘where’. *Chikaripe* and its value as a memory to Abe and the occasions it was eaten reinforces the relationship between food, community, tradition and also memory. ‘Foodways’ and the relationship between ingredients and land brings forth questions about what happens when an indigenous group of people is uprooted from their ancestral home and sent to a place with different food systems. It causes you to wonder about the case of the Karafuto Ainu and how their diets may have had to change after going to Hokkaido. Finding information about food of the *Enchiw* has proved to be exceptionally difficult as the majority of the research about Ainu cuisine focuses on Hokkaido Ainu. With Karafuto having such a complex past and the common space in which a large number of vastly different cultures such as the indigenous peoples, Japan, Russia, Korea and China converged, it brings one to wonder what effect this had on the food culture of the *Enchiw* and how it then affected their culture and sense of identity.

Food thus often represents a link between people and historical relationships with the environment, cultural practices, representation and construction of cultural identity and communal lifeworlds (Watson 130). In the case of the Karafuto Ainu they were forcibly relocated many times for a myriad of reasons, each time the environment they lived in changed. With these moves came changes in the availability of traditionally used ingredients and a myriad of different influences on their cuisine. The majority of research regarding Ainu and

food culture focuses on Hokkaido Ainu; such as the Global Health Case Study conducted by the Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment (CINE). CINE undertook community-based research on the traditional food systems of twelve different groups of indigenous people around the world. One of the studies focused on the Ainu of the Saru River region in Biratori, Hidaka District in southern Hokkaido. The research group from CINE was comprised of various academics, community leaders and representatives of the Biratori Ainu Culture Preservation Group (BACPG). This study also included various intervention activities in order to promote Ainu food to the wider community. It outlines some of the reasons for the decline in Ainu cooking traditional meals such as assimilation policies enacted in the Meiji Period (1868-1912) and Ainu food and ingredients becoming synonymous with an 'inferior people', causing Ainu to avoid these traditional foods (Iwasaki-Goodman "Tasty Tonoto" 225).

Many studies focus on indigenous peoples and food in the context of their local and historically inhabited environment, however looking at food systems in environments other than that which was historically lived in by Ainu is also important. As mentioned previously the current population of Ainu across Japan is unclear. The breakdown of what percentage of the Ainu population is Karafuto Ainu is even murkier with the results of the most recent survey of Hokkaido stating that as of 2017 there are 13,118 Ainu living across 63 municipalities (Ainu Seisaku Suishin-shitsu 1), which does not shed any light on what percentage are Karafuto Ainu. Abe herself is an example of Ainu living outside of the areas that are generally surveyed, Abe moved to Kawasaki in Kanagawa Prefecture and therefore would not have been counted in the majority of these surveys. Watson argues that the movement of Ainu to large cities such as Tokyo does not necessarily mean that they are assimilating into metropolitan mainstream culture and that a significant number of Ainu migrants have retained their cultural identity, with the city having possibly "enhanced their sense of ethnic belonging" (130).

When looking at representation of Ainu cuisine in Japan's everyday food scene, it is largely absent. In saying that, there are a few restaurants that serve Ainu cuisine. One such restaurant is *Umizora no Haru* in Hokkaido that serves local Hokkaido food, including Ainu cuisine. There are less restaurants that serve Ainu cuisine in areas other than Hokkaido. The first Ainu restaurant in Tokyo was *Rera Cise* (which means 'House of Wind' in Ainu), and was opened by Ainu in 1994 in the Waseda district, moving to Nakano District in 2000 (Watson 134). *Rera Cise* went out of business in 2009. It is one of the few Ainu restaurants to have ever existed and was known for its cultural workshops, performances and events (Watson 135). Being a space that provided Ainu food, cultural events and conversation it provided an accessible forum for both Ainu and non-Ainu to connect with and learn about Ainu culture. In light of this, Abe's recollections regarding the food that her family foraged, cooked and ate is immensely important.

Chapter Four

This chapter gives further insight into Abe's life growing up in Ochiho in a detailed, emotively nuanced manner, showing snapshots and episodes from her life growing up in Karafuto. Through Abe's descriptions we get a glimpse into historically significant events and, to an extent, how these events impacted people's lives. Many important topics are mentioned or alluded to in this chapter, including language loss, discrimination against Karafuto Ainu and the way that Russian families lived together with Ainu (and *wajin*) families upon moving to southern Sakhalin following the end of WWII. It mentions literacy rates of the villagers, conscription of Karafuto Ainu in the war, the invasion of Karafuto and how Abe's family attempted to flee to Japan. It also talks about looting done by Russian soldiers, falsities published in Japanese newspapers and Abe's experiences and viewpoint of the invasion of Karafuto and the outcomes for her family. Due to such a wide variety of significant topics covered in this excerpt I will be focusing on a select few, namely language loss, the 1945 invasion of Karafuto, cohabitation of Karafuto and Russian families and the role and conscription of Ainu and other minorities into the Japanese Army.

The War and Occupation

Translation Two Page 84-106

The War

There were only two or three people in the village who knew the Three R's. People would gather at the Tomita house once a week and my mother read the newspaper to them. "One day a Japanese plane was almost shot down by an enemy plane, but they threw rice balls wrapped

in seaweed at it so it turned tail,” as she finished reading the village women broke into loud applause. “Good! Banzai³²!”

We thought that Japan was winning because of those newspapers ridden with lies. But my mother must have read into it more deeply. Everyone who had gathered then listened to record after record on the gramophone. There was never a dull moment in those evenings. They would drink *doburoku*³³ that was sweetened to appeal to women and snack on *taku-an*³⁴. Everyone enjoyed these gatherings.

People who came to collect water would hear Dick Mine’s Dinah³⁵ playing on the gramophone and then come to listen. At some point it became a banned song. Whenever Awaya Noriko’s Rainy Blues³⁶ came on my youngest sister ran around the house crying that there was a ghost. That sister is actually doing well in the jazz industry at the moment.

In the spring of Showa 19 (1944) my oldest brother came home from Shibeche-mura in Hokkaido after being discharged from the military because he was the eldest son. He was appointed as the instructor of the boys and was given an empty classroom at our school. Day in, day out shouted orders as he put them through his harsh training. When they heard him shouting people would say “Yoko, your big brother is conceited”, but there was nothing that I could do about it. When I heard the sound of my bother slapping the boys I’d reflexively press on my cheek as though I could feel their pain. I hated school anyway and this made me hate it more, I would go home with my head hanging, kicking stones along the way. They took their

³² A celebratory cheer.

³³ A type of alcohol.

³⁴ Pickled daikon radish.

³⁵ Dinah is a song introduced to Broadway that was popular in the 1920s, Dick Mine released his cover in 1934.

³⁶ Released in 1930.

resentment towards my brother out on me, but in front of him “Yoko-chan, Yoko-chan,” they said, hypocrites. I stopped at a shrine on the way home to pray, clapping twice “Kami-sama³⁷, please help me.”

People would gather at our house every now and then to listen to the gramophone. My father loved gatherings and treated everyone to *doburoku*. They chatted noisily while drinking and saying, “This house’s *doburoku* is exceptionally good”. Father would always say “Tonight we’ll enjoy ourselves quietly,” to which everyone would agree, grinning as they drank. But their voices steadily got louder as they got progressively drunker, then scuffles would break out. Plates went flying, cups rose as high as the ceiling, their eyes started to glaze over. Eventually my mother’s patience would run out. She’d grab two water buckets and mercilessly douse the drunkards with water, all over the heads and down their backs. It was as noisy as a festival, with people catching their feet in the broken and partially mended nets that had spread into the living room during the course of the evening. A Karafuto owl hooted in the Japanese Elm in the corner of the grounds. Strange nights like this happened several times a year. Such being the case, our house never ran out of *doburoku*.

Second Oldest Brother

After he graduated from the Sendai School of Communications, my second oldest brother was put in charge of telegrams at the Toyohara post office which had formerly been a florist. He always made sound effects and practiced sending telegrams with the middle finger of his right hand, completely engrossed. When Ōnishi sensei and my brother departed for the war, the villagers gave three cheers, “Banzai for the Emperor.” With both hands, the two of them

³⁷ Referring to Japanese deities of the Shinto religion.

bravely received white sashes with 'eternal luck in the fortunes of war' written on them. They hopped on the bus that came twice a day and left for Ōdomari amidst cries of "Go and win with courage!" Wiping away her tears my grandma said "Tsutomu, come back alive!" I also felt somewhat sad and stuck to her side.

Sometime during or maybe after the war there were no longer any toothbrushes, so we used horsetail reeds to brush our teeth. I don't think that it really worked, the reeds were just really rough. My mother would say "Just look at the horse. It doesn't have a single cavity because it chews horsetail reeds day and night. You should all learn from the horse and brush your hardest." We vigorously brushed our teeth until our mouths and teeth were green. Even then they didn't get clean, we just ended up smelling of grass.

End of the War

One day an airplane came flying in. It flew so close to the rooftops that you could see the pilot's face. We fled to the stable once we realised that the pilot wasn't Japanese, but the plane doubled back and fired a score of bullets over our heads. I don't know if they missed because they were a poor shot or because we were children. Bullet holes lined the wall around the house. I cowered under Ponko's stomach trembling. Ponko stayed unusually quiet, maybe trying to protect me. We heard that there was an air raid in Toyohara as well. Dense smoke rose from the bomb raid. People tried to escape, running in every direction. Apparently they had to flee whilst stepping over corpses that were strewn around.

People from all over Karafuto gathered at the port in Ōdomari to escape to Japan. We went too. In the midst of all that, the ammunitions depot caught fire and rained cannonballs. My little

sister ran through it on her way back from buying bread. When she arrived, my mother cried and hugged her tight. Crash! The ground shook, it was terrifying. We never found out what caused it. The Japanese soldiers scattered and there weren't any police or newspaper reporters. If you went outside to look there were just people, people, people running about with their arms covering their heads trying to escape. It was a horrendous din. Then a fire broke out close by. Other fires started popping up and spread, we couldn't return to Ochiho. "Tomorrow we can get on a boat to Japan, tomorrow, tomorrow," we thought. But with thundering footsteps, the Russian soldiers arrived. We all froze, it was the first time we'd seen blue-eyed Russians. They unshouldered their carbine guns and entered the building still wearing shoes. If we moved slightly, they aimed their guns at us.

In the middle of all of this my grandfather spoke in a torrent "Soldat net, devushka net." We had no idea what he was saying. After the soldiers left, he explained that he'd said "There are no soldiers here, no young women here either." Everyone was relieved and all of the villagers were grateful but wondered why Grandpa Torii knew how to speak Russian. After that he rose in their esteem and they learned some Russian from him.

Someone managed to find some trucks for us all to use. We loaded up five or six trucks and returned. Along the roadside on the way were people who had collapsed and were vomiting blood. The forlorn figures of fallen Japanese soldiers lay everywhere. I wondered who took care of the soldier's corpses and where their parents were. What would their country do for them? My heart felt like it would break. It was a long, sad day.

We got home but only had a moment to take a breath before Russian soldiers swarmed in and rummaged through the house. They stomped all over the tatami with their muddy boots, carbine

guns on their shoulders. One took a watch and put it on. They parked a jeep in front of the house and stacked a mountain of valuables into it, muttering all the while. I gazed at the blue-eyed soldiers stiffly, my schoolbag and school things were scattered all over my desk, anything valuable had been pocketed. I was in my sixth year of primary school, I cried and cried. Even now, the sight of our five or six remaining dogs glaring at the soldiers remains etched into my heart.

The houses in central Ochiho were all quite close together so there wasn't significant harm done. But when we escaped, we heard that something awful had happened over towards the mountains. I couldn't believe my ears. The soldiers who left our house then went into another house and raped the occupants. When I heard about it, I couldn't control my emotions. I was so furious that my body froze. So angry that I ground my teeth and sat, beating the floor with my fists. All we could do in those days was just watch, listen and stamp our feet in frustration. Even so, the village protested to the military that an elderly woman had been raped by a young Russian soldier and died. The soldier was executed. This too is a scar left by the war.

A regiment of the Soviet Army came to the village but there was nowhere for them to stay. They were stationed at our house because it was the biggest, parking five or six jeeps out the front. There was a big uproar a few days later when the soldiers complained about a missing blanket. We all gathered at one of the villager's houses and appealed for whoever had taken it to give it back. The soldiers stood with their guns on their shoulders, clamouring and shouting that once the blanket was found they'd kill whoever took it. It had snowed that night, leaving clear footprints that we discovered led straight to the culprit's house. The captain and those with him laughed forgivingly and said "Japanese people are honest," but my father was pale as

a sheet. “*Cpacibo*,” (thank you) he responded with his palms pressed together. The blanket incident scared the daylight out of everyone.

When the soldiers entered people’s houses they said “*Khorosho, khorosho*,” (it’s alright, it’s alright) as they entered. They went to the principal’s house who said “*Khorosho* my arse?! There’s nothing here you bastards.” Then, even though he wasn’t very large, he sent a solid Russian soldier flying over his shoulder. The other soldiers left without taking anything. That became a bright topic of conversation in the village. Following that both Russian soldiers and civilians said ‘*nani mo nai*³⁸’- it being the first word they learned in Japanese that they would say whenever they entered someone’s house. It was hilarious.

The Russians

About four or five months after the Soviet Army came, civilians moved in. The Russian family that moved in next door had a remarkably cute boy. He had fair skin with slightly pink cheeks. I had a floral, lace edged handkerchief, “Petya, here I’ll give this to you.” In Japan it would have been a symbol of farewell but the delighted eleven-year-old Petya flew home with round eyes. From the next day, morning, noon and night for three years he visited me frequently calling “Yoka!” It could be a bit of a pain. He was my little, shoeless suitor who ran along the gravel road with his cracked bare feet crying “Don’t go to Japan.” I wanted to meet him again in Sakhalin when I went back many years later, but he’d already left the village.

A Russian family also lived together with us in our house. I don’t remember the names of the parents, but the children’s names were Sima, Valya, Katya, Taika, and the youngest was a

³⁸ “There’s nothing here”.

lively five-year-old boy with big round eyes named Pechka. I really wanted to meet this family again. We went through many hardships together. We separated without even being able to promise to meet again but I think that what was in our hearts was the same. Even just writing their names like this causes a feeling of nostalgia to well up. It was fun going about our usual everyday life living under the same roof as Russians, separated by flimsy *shoji*³⁹ doors. We shared our side dishes at dinnertime, “*Pojalusta*” (Here you go) we said back and forth. We were different people with different languages but when we ate, we were linked by the word ‘delicious’ and smiled together. “*Kushai*” (please eat), “*Horosho*,” (It’s good) they would say. ‘We’re the same huh,’ I thought. As those days continued, we were happy. I didn’t want to leave for Japan. The Russian family was truly kind from the heart. On the other hand, the sadness of one day stepping onto Japanese soil and having to live in an unknown world was an emotion that only we could understand. There was a man who must’ve studied Russian at some point who said that he was an interpreter. We didn’t know any Russian and just had to believe him. As we came to understand more Russian, the interpreter’s nonsense was hilarious. Well, I suppose that was his way to survive.

As Ainu we weren’t allowed be taken from Karafuto, and this was extended until Showa 23 (1948). There were quite a lot of families who pretended that they’d lost their passports, then had Japanese ones made and departed earlier. We all put ourselves first in order to survive.

Ponko and Hatsuhi

³⁹ Traditional Japanese paper doors.

We had a horse called Ponko and a dog called Hatsuhi. Both of them were born in Showa 8 (1933), same as me. Hatsuhi's name came from using the first syllable of three of my older brother's names. 'Ha' from the oldest, 'Tsu' from the second and 'Hi' from Hirokazu. The horse's name, Ponko, meant 'small'. Ponko lived a long life until the age of fifteen. At the beginning of December in Showa 20 (1945) I went to give my brother, who worked about 20km away from home, money and food to celebrate our parent's first grandchild. I went by myself, taking Ponko and the horse sledge. The Takemura Corporation was in the middle of Ochiho and Toyohara. It was the only place the villagers worked. On the way back after staying the night, Ponko stopped moving forward about five kilometres down the road. Ponko looked at my face, then at the sky, white teeth showing, before turning around with a laugh. I vexedly tugged at Ponko's nose, but it was no use. I left Ponko there and went back to my brother crying, but he only worried about Ponko and scolded me. I sobbed as he took me back to the horse, "It can't be helped, Ponko won't move". Ponko saw my brother and started running briskly. My brother went back to work laughing. I ended up being laughed at by both of them.

At length it started to snow. The white birch groves looked like a painting, the kind of beauty that can't be described with words. We were raised in this kind of nature. Before long it got dark, my cheeks were covered in tears and snow, I wiped away my tears. It was lonely returning home alone. I got sadder and sadder, crying loudly as I hit Ponko's rump. I passed the Japanese-Russian village, there was a house on its own past the school that sent shivers down my spine. You could always hear strange voices coming from it. There was also a place where no-one lived called 'Three Houses,' because it only had three houses. One of the houses belonged to an acquaintance's grandmother so I felt reassured to see it. I arrived home at eight at night. My younger siblings had waited hungrily for me. They saw me and came over happily to help with the luggage. I looked at their smiling faces as they popped rock candy from our older brother

into their mouths and started crying again. My exhaustion was wiped away. “Good job Ponko,” I put a mixture of oats with a little corn into a bucket and added water. Ponko ate happily. “Thank you Ponko.” I ate my fill of white rice for the first time in a while along with miso soup with trout, and potatoes simmered in soy sauce. I was given a little *doburoku* and got into my futon that my mother had prepared for me with a heated stone that I used like a hot water bottle.

Ponko died about half a year before we went to Japan. We made a grave in the thickets at the back of the house. I heard from my oldest brother that the Russians mistook it as a human grave and left offerings. I was happy, but at the same time my chest ached. Thank you, I murmured with my hands pressed together.

Hatsuhi was black with white spots above her eyes. Every year she had about seven or eight puppies. She wasn’t very good with snow and when there was lightning dad would say “Hatsuhi will come running in all hunched up,” then leave the entrance door, sliding door and closet door open. Hatsuhi would come flying in with her tail between her legs and hide shaking with her head in the closet. She would look at me with her entreating face that was really quite charming, as though she was saying “Please help me”. She was a cowardly dog and would let out a huge sigh when you went and hugged her. But she’d always neglect her puppies, leaving them alone. I watched Antarctica⁴⁰ on television and saw that Jiro was the same kind of dog as Hatsuhi.

When there was a snowstorm the dogs curled up and slept under a blanket of snow. When you banged on the food bowls all thirteen dogs shook off the snow and came flying. They greedily

⁴⁰ A Japanese film about a Japanese expedition to Antarctica released in 1983.

scoffed steaming potatoes, herring and salmon. And like that, over a few years the dogs that we lived with all disappeared by the time were relocated. I wonder what happened to them.

We were living in poverty and reached our limit. Two or three of my mother's kimono disappeared from her drawers. My chest burned when I saw other people wearing them. My father's stomach cancer got worse day by day. I couldn't help but pray that we would get to Japan even one day faster. A former nurse who lived close by made him medicine to supposedly stop the pain. She put baking soda, water and 0.3% bitter tincture into a 200cc bottle. His pain was alleviated thanks to that and it seemed like it was a little easier for him.

I'm not sure if it was for a full year or not, but we had Principal Koto as the head of the primary school. After that it was Oida-sensei⁴¹, who wasn't that much older than the students and was in charge of my class. We'd find faults, making Oida-sensei go pale then red. We were stubborn children. "Right, now everyone let's make a 5-7-5 syllable haiku," Oida-sensei said. The murmuring of the naughty kids went silent in a moment. We were bewildered by the sudden use of the unfamiliar word 'haiku'. After that we started listening more. It was nice having a young teacher. We were able to have a peaceful school life without discrimination. I had wanted to meet again but sadly Oida-sensei recently passed away.

Once, a rouble went missing from the wallet of someone from Upper Ochiho when they were shopping, and they accused me of being the culprit. Even my father couldn't stay calm when the news that a daughter of the Tomita family stole a rouble reverberated throughout Karafuto. "You're being called a thief because you're an idiot who doesn't speak up. Clear it up!" It was the first time in my life that he shouted at me. "They said I did it, but I didn't," I replied in a

⁴¹ *Sensei* means 'teacher'

whisper. “I see.” He said, my chest tightened when I saw my father shedding tears. After two or three days the accuser said, “I’m very sorry, it was my mistake,” but there was no way my father’s heart was going to settle down. Even now I can’t forget how he looked saying “We get looked down upon like this because we’re poor. Make sure you remember this Yoko,” and wiping tears away.

The Incident

Something terrible happened in the village in the Autumn of Showa 21 (1946). It was early in the morning; I think around six. “Uhm, are you there? It’s bad, it’s bad!” a thirteen-year-old boy came rushing in. “What is it?” my older brother replied in a piercing voice. “Um, I came to get people because my mum told me to.”

“What happened?”

“I came because she told me to because my big brother’s face got cut with a razor. He looks like he’ll die.”

“This idiot, why didn’t you say so sooner.” My brother dashed off barefooted holding a spear. Even when running it took about five or six minutes to get there. The rest of us all came to our senses at once. There was a huge uproar in the village about this attempted murder incident. The man who cut him was plump, about thirty years old and was a lodger renting a room from that family. The big brother’s cheek was sliced through to the inside of his mouth, the cut was about 15cm long. The floor was a sea of blood. I went to the school to tell them what happened. The principal, who also taught judo, went to the house and somehow saved him from death. That principal saved however many people in the doctorless village. He used medicinal herbs and was a lifesaver. But two years later, at twenty-eight years old, the big brother died as a result of that injury.

Because of the attempted murder three or four Russian soldiers came tramping in holding their guns. “This man committed attempted murder so will receive the death penalty right here and now.” That was their summary trial. Guns at the ready, they pointed the muzzles at the assailant. My older brother stopped them with a gesture as their fingers touched the triggers. “This regards Japanese people,” he said. Grandpa interpreted for him “It’s not like he died, please just stop.” There was surely more of a story behind it seeing as the assailant was the big brother’s younger sister’s bridegroom. The villagers must have been relieved.

Some months passed after the uproar, then we heard “Fire! Fire! The mountain of logs at Takemura Corporation is burning!” It was from over the river close to the house that we were living in. A man was laughing “It’s finally burning! Ahahaha!” he said as he took his underwear off and then put it on again, over and over. We knew who the culprit was immediately. My mother shrilly rebuked him. She slapped him and tipped a bucket of water over his head then he came back to his senses a little. “Yoko don’t tell anyone about this,” she said. “What has this old man done,” my heart beat quickly. That man disappeared from the village, I don’t know if he went off somewhere else or what happened.

Lullaby

“*Antoto, makamaka, neenanbe.*” Sang my aunt who couldn’t have children as she piggybacked my little sister who was about one and a half. I don’t know what it meant, but I think that it was a lullaby. Our aunt’s husband was in Manchuria when the war ended. He boasted that he’d been military police, but mother rebuked him sharply, “What’s the point of saying that now. How much did you knock the soldiers around?!” He stopped boasting. They hadn’t had a

wedding ceremony, so the villagers decided to hold a celebration for them. They were so touched that they cried. The people from over on the coast, teachers from school, heads of the companies and shop owners all came. Even though food was scarce there was a great meal. After the feast when we started going home, some people passing by our house said as they laughed loudly, “It’s because they’re Ainu. What kind of wedding was that? They don’t even know how to have a proper ceremony ahahaha.”. Mother exploded in a fit of rage, father tried his best to calm her down commenting, “Well, it’s just because they’re that sort of people.” It was in December when I was thirteen; I was saddened by it.

Even after the war we were hit with the word “Ainu, Ainu”. The higher ups did it too, to say nothing of the children. When we passed through the village on the coast the kids would run around us. In the end the people from Korea and Russia copied them and jeered at us too. It got to the point that I couldn’t put up with it anymore. I carried a metre-long willow switch and hit the other kids with it. In the end they ran away when they saw me, “It’s Yoko!” Serves them right, I’d think putting, my left hand on my hip and let out a sigh. I really was my mother’s child.

Significant Themes of Translation Two

Language Loss

The fact that Abe, and most likely her siblings too, are unable to understand the Ainu language was mentioned on multiple occasions throughout the autobiography such as when Abe's mother and grandmother spoke in Ainu, but Abe could not comprehend what they were saying (26). There are many reasons for Abe not knowing how to speak Ainu such as the fact that she attended a *wajin* school where she would have been taught in Japanese. Receiving education in Japanese would have added to making it her primary language. Another possibility is that since her father is not mentioned as speaking Ainu at all throughout the autobiography, perhaps he did not know the Ainu language, so the family all spoke Japanese at home. Regardless, the effects of colonisation and policies regarding language, education and so forth caused an immediate effect on native speakers of Ainu and their children that is apparent when reading this autobiography.

The dialect that was spoken by Karafuto Ainu was vastly different to that of Hokkaido Ainu, to the point that it is said that they may not have been able to fully understand each other in everyday conversation (Murasaki 4). There were also dialectal differences between different groups of Karafuto Ainu (Lee & Hasegawa 3). The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger has Karafuto Ainu listed as an extinct language with zero surviving speakers, the last known speaker of Karafuto Ainu having passed away in the 1990s (UNESCO Atlas). The loss of indigenous and minority languages is an immense issue throughout the world, the disappearance of ecological and cultural knowledge is synonymous with loss of language.

The interrelationship between language, culture and indigenous knowledge is inextricable, complex, and many faceted, with each encompassing aspects of the other. A strong sense of culture, social identity, and self is bound up in what language you speak; “language expresses cultural reality” (Kramsch 3). Ecological, religious knowledge, cultural knowledge, tradition, mythology, and history are all embedded in language. When a culture starts losing the native language, they begin to lose all of these, along with other facets of their culture through the process of assimilating into the dominant society. Loss of language also results in a loss of linguistic and intellectual diversity. At the moment we are in an era of mass ecological, cultural, and linguistic endangerment and extinction. This has not only ramifications for families and smaller communities, but due to its rapidity and scale, it is an increasingly urgent worldwide issue.

In the *Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, Austin and Sallabank posit that there are four main causes of language endangerment. These four causes are: natural catastrophes; war and genocide; overt repression; and cultural, political, and economic dominance (Austin and Sallabank 5). Linguist Michael Krauss wrote about the possibility that linguistics may “go down in history as the only science that presided obliviously over the disappearance of 90% of the very field to which it is dedicated” and calls for the involvement of a larger number of educational institutions and organisations in working to preserve language diversity (Krauss 10). Languages are not a constant, they have always fluctuated and changed, with new languages replacing the old. According to Hale, historically the process of language loss has occurred when smaller communities merge with larger communities in multilingual situations (1). Now, politically dominant cultures and languages overwhelm indigenous languages and cultures (Hale 1), such as what has been happening with the Ainu. Another difference between

language shift over the last five hundred years when compared to language shifts prior to that is ‘linguistic equilibrium’, in which, as one language disappeared, another one rose up and took its place (Rivenburgh). Rather than replacing previously used languages, dominant languages, also known as ‘metropolitan’ languages, now expand “*at the expense of*”⁴² ‘peripheral’ indigenous languages which are not being replaced (Rivenburgh). What has been happening with the Ainu language is an example of this.

Originally an oral language (now transcribed in either katakana⁸ or with the Latin alphabet), Ainu has oral histories and traditions which are rapidly being lost. Ainu has a strong tradition of oral literature, in both verse and prose (Shibatani 4). *Yukar* refers to the verse form of recited epics that tell of stories of love, war, heroes, and gods (Shibatani 4). The language used for *yukar* differs greatly from that of colloquial Ainu: it is more conservative and does not have as much dialectal variation as the colloquial language (Shibatani 4). Through this loss of spoken Ainu, Ainu literature, myths and legends are also being forgotten. By being forgotten the historical, cultural and ecological knowledge these *yukar* and stories contains is being irreversibly lost. Jan Assmann’s in-depth examination of the interconnectedness of memory and cultural identity draws on the work done in the early 1900s by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs and art historian and cultural theorist Aby Warburg. Both scholars separately developed theories of ‘collective’ or ‘social memory’ (Assmann 125) which relate to oral languages. According to their theories, in order for humans to maintain their traditions, history and culture through the generations, cultural memory is a necessity, along with communicative memory (Assmann 126). There are theories about a facet of collective memory called communicative memory. A characteristic of communicative memory is a limited temporal horizon, the boundaries of which extend to eighty, or possibly at most one hundred years into

⁴² Italicised by original author.

the past (Assmann 127). This equates to approximately three or four generations and is relevant to the Ainu because “cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity” (Assmann 130) and as more time passes, more cultural knowledge is being lost.

Ainu language itself has a distinctive linguistic structure and is considered to be a language isolate. There have been various different theories that situate Ainu in different language families, such as the Paleo-Asiatic family, or in the same language family as Japanese. British missionary, John Batchelor suggested that there is a connection between Ainu language and Western languages due to shared cognates and also drew parallels between Ainu language and obsolete Japanese (Shibatani 5). Russian ethnographer Lev Sternberg (1861–1907) posited Ainu fitted in with Austronesian languages, but this was largely based on anthropological data, and only had two etymologies as linguistic evidence, which is not sufficient for proving a relationship between language (Vovin 2).

There has been a historical focus on the Ainu as being an endangered people who are ‘dying out’ along with their language and traditions. A view that is often held by majority cultures in regard to minority and indigenous cultures. When looking at the relatively recent research conducted by Kindaichi, people considered to be ‘fluent’ speakers of Ainu were hard to find. By the time other scholars such as Tamura Suzuko (1934–2015) and Murasaki Kyōko (b. 1937) started researching the Ainu language, they had to rely on single informants (Kodansha V1, 36). However, when looking at Nibutani (a district in Hokkaido with a high percentage of Ainu inhabitants), the Ainu language is still regularly used there, with everyday words being included in the lexicon of monolingual speakers of Japanese (Anderson & Iwasaki-Goodman

49). Japanese-Ainu code-switching and mixing is, to an extent, not uncommon for the older generations (Anderson & Iwasaki-Goodman 49).

As mentioned previously, UNESCO states that the number of fluent Ainu speakers is very low, considered to be approximately fifteen. This does not consider code-switching and mixing in areas that were or are still inhabited predominantly by Ainu. These figures are not concrete and have been disputed: according to Ainu political leader Kayano Shigeru (1926 –2006) there are far more speakers of Ainu than widely thought. When considering the UNESCO definition of language endangerment, which looks at a variety of factors developed by a group of linguists such as absolute number of speakers, quality of documentation, intergenerational transmission, and shifts in domains of language usage, Ainu appears to fit into the endangered category. However, Kayano posits that if you broaden the scope of what you consider ‘fluent’ to be, then there are far more speakers of Ainu than there are thought to be. In 1993 Kayano said:

“According to academics, there are perhaps twenty native speakers of Ainu left. I believe this is wrong. Although one can argue about the degree to which they are fluent in Ainu, there are in fact many more Ainu speakers. When I go to a village for recording and tell a ‘*wepeker*’⁹ to people of about my age, they listen intently. Many say afterwards that although they cannot repeat it they can more or less understand the story. In short, they can comprehend Ainu although they cannot speak it. Those who have this comprehension can soon come to be able to speak the language (Anderson & Iwasaki-Goodman 49).”

This casts the widely held academic beliefs about speakers of Ainu, categorization of fluency and the UNESCO designation in a different light. While Ainu has been undergoing a serious language shift, this statement shows that it should not be relegated to the role of a ‘dying language’ with barely any fluent speakers. Fluency of language is not something that can be defined clearly, despite the widespread desire to do so, as evidenced by the use of the UNESCO

figures in media, politics, and academia. Kayano has given his own estimation of how many people can understand Ainu when listening, suggesting that there are around 2,500 (Anderson & Iwasaki-Goodman 50). Regardless of the numbers put forwards by Kayano, it does not change the fact that the number of people who can speak or comprehend the Ainu language is very low and will only continue to decrease unless there is a concerted effort to encourage its use.

Roles of Enchiw and other Karafuto Minorities in World War II

In *Lights of Okhotsk* Abe wrote of her village and house emptying out as men were conscripted and went to war. Abe wrote of her eldest brother who was sent home from mainland Japan after being conscripted. He was sent home because he was the eldest son of the family. The same draft regulations that applied to Hokkaido and Karafuto *wajin* also applied to Ainu. Conscription of Ainu into the Japanese army began in 1886 (Ishida 66). The first deployment was when 63 Ainu were deployed to fight in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 (Ishida 66) of which eight died of disease or in battle (Yoshiaki 128). Once conscripted into the army, Ainu soldiers faced widespread discrimination from the *wajin* soldiers (Ishida 68). Following the 1940 establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in Tokyo, the *Kokumin Hōkōkai*, the National Service Association in Karafuto, was also created. The expected participation in WWII of residents of Karafuto was made clear. In *Lights of Okhotsk* Abe talks about several male family members who participated in the war, for example her uncle by marriage was sent to Manchuria as a member of the military police, Abe's oldest brother was conscripted then released due to being the oldest son, and her second oldest brother left Ochiho for the war shortly before it ended.

Other minorities from Karafuto were drafted into the Japanese army. Korea was annexed by Japan and under Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945 during which many Korean men who lived in Karafuto were called up for service in the Japanese army in WWII. The conscription law did not apply to those who did not have a family register, so minorities such as the Uilta and Nivkh who were not part of the Japanese family register system did not fall into the category that would have qualified for conscription (Yoshiaki 295). However, from 1942 the Japanese secret service sent out thirty ‘call up’ notices and drafted minorities into intelligence service (Yoshiaki 295). An Uilta man named Dahinieni Gendanu was drafted and eventually assigned to the Shiska Army Secret Service (Yoshiaki 130). Shiska was an area in southern Sakhalin that is now known as Poronaysk. Following the end of the war Gendanu became a prisoner of war and was sentenced to eight years of hard labour, of which he served seven and a half (Yoshiaki 131). Yoshimi Yoshiaki, professor of Japanese history at Chuo University in Tokyo, states that

“Fellow detainees Manjirō, Igarainu (Nivkh), and the Heijirō brothers died; Gendanu was paroled in the spring of 1955. Because he’d been a “war criminal” and submitted to Soviet law as a “Japanese,” he felt inferior and hesitated to return to his hometown—now in Soviet territory—going instead to stay with his older brother in Hokkaidō. This older brother had also been made a member of the secret service and had crossed over to Hokkaidō after his internment in Siberia. Thus not only was Gendanu’s family dispersed between Sakhalin and Hokkaidō, but he himself concealed his Uilta heritage and came to live in fear of discrimination.”

Following the war Gendanu applied for a military pension but was denied on the grounds that he had been employed as a ‘civilian in military employ’ and therefore did not qualify for the pension (Yoshiaki 295). This is an example of the outcome of WWII for a member of an indigenous minority of Sakhalin following the war.

Abe wrote about her second oldest brother who was supposed to be sent to the front as a member of the *Tokkōtai*, short for *Tokubetsu Kōgeki-tai*, a special forces unit who are famous for conducting suicide attacks. The *Tokkōtai* is also known across the world as the *Kamikaze*, whose final attack of the war happened in the Kuril Islands (Stephan “Kuril” 132). Abe wrote about how lucky her brother was that the war ended when it did, if it had continued for even a few more days he may have been sent on a suicide mission and never returned home to his family. Abe does not go into great detail when talking about this, but the impact of members of the family being conscripted is shown through the family’s concern for those conscripted such as when her grandma cried when the second oldest brother boarded the bus to leave for the war.

1945 Invasion of Karafuto

Prior to the end of the war British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, Soviet Premier, Joseph Stalin, and United States President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, convened at Yalta to decide how to arrange things following the end of the war. Professor emeritus at Hokkaido University and International Research Centre for Japanese Studies, Kimura Hiroshi, has written of the Yalta conference as;

“the backroom dealings that established the fundamental framework for division and control of the postwar world by the victors” (43).

As previously mentioned in Chapter One, one of the outcomes of the conference significant for both Japan and Russia was that following the surrender of Germany and conclusion of the war in Europe, the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan alongside the Allied Powers (Stephan 202). The Soviet Union entered the war against Japan five days before Japan officially

surrendered, thus violating the Japanese-Russian Neutrality Pact (Kimura 48). The Neutrality Pact was signed in 1941 and supposed to extend for five years from the date of signing, which means that it would have ended in 1946. After Japan's defeat the Soviet Union took control of Karafuto and the Kuril Islands.

From the 9th of August 1945, three months after Germany's surrender and three days after the atomic bomb was dropped in Hiroshima, the same day of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, the Soviet Red Army attacked the Kuril Islands, Karafuto, and the Japan's puppet state run in Manchukuo (Urbansky & Barop). On the 11th of August 1945, Karafuto was invaded by the Soviet army from the north. It began with the bombardment of the Handenzawa frontier posting, the Japanese frontier guards were wiped out by two battalions of Russian infantry after a few days (Stephen 149). Although ranking officers in Karafuto knew about the invasion once the fighting had started, the civilian population was largely unaware of the impending invasion until it was upon them and no preparations for evacuation had been made (Stephan 152). Abe wrote of the misinformation regarding the wars in the newspapers that her mother used to read to other villagers who were not literate. Abe also wrote of the suddenness of the attack on Karafuto, of a plane flying over their house and not realising that it was not a Japanese plane until it was so close that they could see the pilot. The pilot shot bullets over their heads, so Abe and her family hid in the stable with the horse before fleeing to Ōdomari in an attempt to escape to Japan.

Along with Abe's family, thousands of Karafuto's residents fled to the coastal towns of Maoka, Honto and Ōdomari in order to escape to Japan, approximately 30,000 managed to leave Karafuto in August followed by another 87,000 before the end of the year (Stephan 152).

Whilst Abe's family fled to Ōdomari, they were unable to escape to Japan before the Russian military arrived and consequently had to return to Ochiho. Abe wrote of the confusion and chaos in Ōdomari during that time, of a fire at an ammunition depot, of the lack of Japanese military personnel, the lack of a police presence, and the lack of newspapers and therefore lack of information about what was happening. After the Russian soldiers reached Ōdomari Abe and others from Ochiho all returned home. Abe also noted that it was the first time she had seen "blue-eyed Russians" which gives further indication of how tight the border control between the north and south of the island had been. Abe's house was searched by soldiers who looted the valuables and stacked them into a jeep they parked outside the house. Along with writing of the looting in Ochiho, there were a number of rapes including an assault by a young soldier against an elderly woman that resulted in her death that Abe wrote about in *Lights of Okhotsk*. The villagers complained to the military and the offending soldier was executed. Abe's family lived in the converted schoolhouse, so their house was the largest in the village and due to a lack of other accommodation, the Russian military personnel stayed with Abe's family for a time.

Following Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration in 1945, Stalin made two additional requests. First, that as according to the Yalta Agreement, Karafuto and all of the Kurile Islands would come under Russian control, and second, that northern Hokkaido would become Russian occupied territory (Kimura 49). The second request was turned down, but Karafuto and the Kuril Islands ended up being absorbed into Russian territory. Despite a transmission on the 18th of August to cease fighting, skirmishes between Japan and Russia continued for up to two weeks in some areas (Nimmo 25). It is not entirely clear whether the report of Japan's surrender failed to make it to all of the groups fighting in Karafuto or whether some of them decided to ignore it (Stephan 153). Soviet soldiers approached Maoka Harbour from the 20th of August

onwards. They encountered resistance from unknown assailants who were concealed on the shore and retaliated (Stephan 153). Japanese peace envoys were sent out but were shot (Stephan 153); civilians were caught between the two armies and over 1,000 civilians died (Nimmo 26). Multiple families committed group suicide and the female telephone operators at the Maoka post office became famous because seven out of eight of them committed suicide as their building was invaded (Stephan 153). There were many ships that took refugees from Karafuto to Hokkaido; anything that could float and carry people was put into use. On August 21st and 22nd Soviet submarines sank three such boats, resulting in over 1,700 civilian deaths (Nimmo 26).

The official inauguration of the occupation of Karafuto was announced on the 23rd of August. Dmitrii N. Kriukov (1899-1985) was appointed as the leader of the civil administration. The name 'Karafuto' was abolished on December 31st, 1945 (Stephan 154, 156). As soon as the invasion was completed successfully, a military government was set up and in September 1945 a complementary civil administration was created (Urbansky & Barop). Toyohara became the capital and was renamed to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. Various methods were used in order to garner cooperation from Karafuto's residents. One method was that food was rationed out based on the type and amount of labour that people did, along with a reliance on the preexisting Japanese social structures that helped to ensure that everyone went to work and did what they were now supposed to (Urbansky & Barop). The school curriculum was altered, it excluded the study of shūshin (morals), geography, history and introduced Marxist-Leninist doctrine (Stephan 157). From the 1st of June 1946, towns and villages in Karafuto were given Russian names (Stephan 160). Resettlement of people from the USSR to Sakhalin was actively encouraged. Although it may have been exceptionally long, passage to Sakhalin was free and USSR settlers were accommodated in camps in the larger cities before being sent to their new homes (Urbansky

and Barop). The new settlers coexisted with Karafuto's prior inhabitants. There were separate lines for Japanese nationals and USSR citizens at food distribution centres, a black market for which both yen and roubles were used, people worked together, and also often Russian families shared houses with Japanese families (Urbansky and Barop). Abe's family is an example of this house sharing. According to Abe, about four to five months after the Soviet Army went to the village, Russian civilians started moving in. Abe's family shared a house with a Russian family of seven for three years, until their immigration to Japan in 1948. Abe talks of the fondness she still holds for the family they lived with, of how they lived in close proximity and shared food and the like. Abe also wrote of their ability to communicate and co-exist in the same space even though they did not share a language and had limited communication.

By 1944 the population of Karafuto had grown to approximately 447,976 (Urbansky & Barop). After 1946 Stalin ordered the removal of ethnic Japanese residents and Japanese citizens (which included Karafuto Ainu) from Karafuto and the 17,291 residents of the Northern Territories—the Kuril Islands (Kimura 52). In spite of the Potsdam Declaration stating that Japanese military forces would be allowed to return peacefully home, 609,000 Japanese soldiers and others were taken to Siberia to do forced labour in relentless conditions which caused the deaths of 62,000 (Kimura 52). While the Potsdam Treaty stipulated the repatriation of soldiers, it did not provide a clear plan for the civilians who were living in areas that had been occupied by Japan (Urbansky & Barop). Japan and Russia had differing objectives relating to repatriation, Japan wanted its citizens to be able to leave Sakhalin as quickly as possible whereas Russia was able to benefit from the working power of Karafuto's residents and therefore did not have the same motivation to send Japanese citizens to Japan. Repatriation (along with forced immigration) began in 1946 and officially ended in December 1949 (Urbansky and Barop). The new administration in southern Sakhalin relied on continued

cooperation of the preexisting residents and kept certain groups of people who were considered to be more integral to the running of the island. Urbansky and Barop state that;

“The order in which repatriation was carried out matched Soviet needs: company owners, traders, civil servants, parts of the intelligentsia, and other "bourgeois elements" were among the first to be sent to Japan. Farmers who left the island after the harvest of 1947, factory workers, and lower-level employees belonged to the second group, while doctors, teachers, priests, engineers, and other highly qualified personnel were among the last to go.”

The immigration of Karafuto Ainu to Hokkaido was, regardless of an individual's desire, forced due to Ainu being classed as Japanese citizens. Repatriates/emigrants were unable to take belongings or money with them which meant that they reached Hokkaido with practically nothing (Sevela 41). Following the conclusion of the repatriation of Japanese citizens, the island was closed to foreigners and only accessible to USSR citizens with proper permission.

Chapter Five

The War and Occupation (cont.)

Translation Three - Pages 108-118

Repatriation

We were taken to Ōdomari via the railcar in Showa 23 (1948), snow was falling in Ochiho. I heard the word ‘repatriation’ many times over. “Please don’t leave me here”, a person who was maybe fifty-five or fifty-six, implored the villagers. Every day he practiced walking using crutches, with a body bent in two. Everyone was drawn to tears when he passed away a month before repatriation.

There was a very calm and kind man named Hashimoto Ichiro, he was from China. He did a lot for the sake of the villagers, everyone respected him. He helped when people got colds or had stomachaches. He made pills that were slightly larger than Jintan breath mints. “Take this, you’ll feel better,” he was a lifesaver. Hashimoto lived in the house where an attempted murder happened. The man who caused it hated Hashimoto and used to sing *China Nights*⁴³ while laying out his futon. Hashimoto couldn’t contain his anger and they’d quarrel. Apparently, it happened every night. After the incident Hashimoto moved to a house at the entrance to the village. I will never forget his sad face when everyone separated, and we went to Japan. We were worried and anxious about him. When I went to Sakhalin, I was so glad I could’ve cried upon hearing that he lived a happy life in Ōdomari. If possible, I’d like to visit his grave.

⁴³ A song from a wartime Japanese propaganda film also called *China Nights* (1940).

We went to Maoka via boxcar, moved along as if we were luggage, to wait for the ship to Japan. Snow fell and our snot froze even though it was only the end of October. My father must have endured so much stomach pain in the middle of all of that. The internment camp in Maoka had however many thousands, tens of thousands of people with only enough room to sit. If you left even a little gap it'd be taken by the neighbouring family. You couldn't leave space or let your guard down. It was an untenable situation, with glaring eyes roving around restlessly.

We were among the last to repatriate; we went to the boat via the boxcar used by we villagers that ran on the tracks used to carry logs from the mountains. The first time I felt happy was when I hoisted my rucksack onto my back. We had packed only what we could carry, precious things like items made by grandma and grandpa, and our iron pot. Along the way to the port of Maoka my chest hurt with the knowledge that I wouldn't be able to see the same trees and flowers anymore. We stepped firmly onto the gangplank of the *Unzenmaru* on the first of November. It was the first time I'd set foot onto a gangplank. The soldiers raised and lowered it, I felt strange. There was a vague stir through the crowd, everyone looked at each other with the cries of "Alright, boarding!" It's a journey that only those who were repatriated can know. It was as the saying goes, "Only bitter things are numerous". We focused on preparing to get on the boat, making sure that we didn't forget anything, following the directives given.

We finally arrived onboard, clinging onto the sides of the ladder dangling from the ship, climbing step by step. My father grimaced painfully, putting his rucksack down in a small space. "Yoko let's go to the deck," he urged. The internment camp we'd been living in receded into the distance. My father wiped away tears as he sadly watched the port of Maoka get further away. "Yoko, make sure to look properly."

We arrived in Hakodate in November of Showa 23 (1948). It was so silent, as though even the air had frozen over. We got into a line and the GHQ⁴⁴ investigation started. In the next room they disinfected us, putting DDT⁴⁵ powder in our hair and clothing until we were white. We then gathered in an open space and every single wicker trunk and item of baggage was searched. In all of the chaos, some of the things I had were luckily overlooked. The examination ended and the repatriates all dispersed. “Be safe, I’ve been in your care,” people said as they left and went back to their hometowns.

As we arrived in Hakodate my father was moved to the infirmary used by the military. He was in the final stages of stomach cancer. He passed away a week after we arrived in Japan. My father who had always reassuringly said, “When we arrive in Japan...” as he fought intense pain. We bought him perfect apples and dried persimmon, but he didn’t have the strength to eat. He died grinding his teeth from the pain on the eighth of November. He was fifty-three years old, in today’s terms he was still young. It was hard, we made it to Japan at great cost and I wanted to be with him longer. If medicine was like it is now maybe he would’ve lived longer. All I can do is look to the heavens. My father who revered the Emperor, who used to keep a shallow bowl with a chrysanthemum crest in the *kami-dana*⁴⁶ that we could only look at and not touch. He loved Japan from his heart, sang the national anthem and let his tears fall freely.

The war ended then we had unimaginable troubles until repatriation. I pray that this kind of suffering doesn’t happen again. We threw away everything we had to get to Japan and were

⁴⁴ General Headquarters, an office of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers.

⁴⁵ DDT is short for Dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane, a white powder used as a pesticide for insects.

⁴⁶ Miniature household altar (Shinto religion).

put in a matchbox residence for repatriates. We were at a loss when father died. There was apparently family that he had connections with towards Hidaka, but with things the way they were there was no way we could go. The Repatriation Support Bureau kindly and politely suggested that we go to repatriation housing in Memurochō in the Tokachi district. We were amazed to be put in a newly built residence, we thought that Japan was a wonderful country, and were ecstatic. All of the names, addresses and the towns that the repatriates settled in were printed in the Hokkaido Newspaper.

It was about halfway through December in Showa 23 (1948) when an elderly man wearing snow *geta*⁴⁷, a long camel scarf and two layers of outerwear came into our house. My mother's face turned pale when she saw him. "Don't come into our house! How could you show your face here? Don't cross the threshold. You bastard!" She shrieked at the top of her lungs until she had tears in her eyes. My eldest brother tried to calm her, "It happened long ago, just forgive him." But clenched his fists just the same.

That old man had been the accountant for all three Tomita fishing grounds. I loved him when I was little because he always spoiled me. I couldn't believe it when I first heard from my mother that he made off with one thousand yen. Before the war, that was the kind of money that if someone built an elegant house there would be rumours that it was a 'thousand-yen house.' I could see clearly how vexed my mother was, but even though something like that happened, apparently my father never reported it. I didn't understand how he could be so good natured.

In consideration of us, grandma wore a mask from the day we came to Japan, but her tattoo

⁴⁷ A type of Japanese sandal.

was large and peeked out both sides of it. She laughed at herself when she looked in the mirror. We lived in the repatriate residences of Memurochō so anyone and everyone could, and would, come and ‘sightsee’. People would loiter outside the front of our house for no reason. I first heard this sad story from my younger siblings because I spent four years separated from my family as a nanny. They didn’t let the persecution and unwarranted discrimination beat them down. My grandma must have been so careful, if people from the neighbourhood came over she’d rush to put her mask on even though she hated it. They talked to her about all sorts of things and would considerately say “You don’t need to put a mask on, we’re all repatriates.” Grandma and I were both relieved. “Hey grandma, you don’t need to wear a mask.” I said. “I see, you lot don’t think I’m embarrassing then,” my considerate grandma said, paining my heart. Even though she was wearing her mask you could see that she was blushing. I wonder how much she put up with for the sake of her grandchildren. I regretted coming to Japan if it was going to be like that.

My second eldest brother made his own urn and was about to depart for the front as a member of the Tokkotai⁴⁸ unit but the war ended just before he was meant to leave. If the war had gone on a day longer, I wonder if he would’ve died. My grandmother’s joy at seeing him again was really something else. His luck continued and he got a job at the Mizuzawa post office in Iwate prefecture. But then he unfortunately became unemployed as a result of MacArthur’s Red Purge of Showa 23-24 (1948-49). He bought a pedal sewing machine with what little there was of his severance pay. It was the one prized possession of our household. We suffered both spiritually and materially, so having that machine helped us. Because of my brother being affected by the Red Purge, no matter where I went, I couldn’t get work. We had nothing we

⁴⁸ Short for *Tokubetsu Kōgeki-Tai*, a special forces unit who conducted suicide attacks. Also known as the Kamikaze.

could put in the stove so I went out the back and picked up twigs and oak leaves until you could see the ground. When the smoke started rising it was like the warm emotions in *The Little Match Girl*⁴⁹. All together we put our hands over the fire and reminisced about Ochiho.

My mother conducted herself very adroitly in that rural town. She was on good terms with the farmers and very diplomatic. She procured vegetables, wheat and egg millet in various ways. Even so, her collection of kimono steadily shrank. With the passing of winter and visitation of spring, our large family all started helping on farms or nannying. I dreamt of going to a seamstress school, but it cost 500 yen per month, so I gave up hope after a few months. I worked and worked but it didn't make living any easier. For some families their only option was having their daughters enter the night business. Some girls were also trafficked.

Society advanced rapidly over the scars carved out by the war. Misora Hibari⁵⁰ made her debut, Yukawa Hideki⁵¹ won Japan's first Nobel Prize. Most families gradually bought and started using sewing machines. But even then, sometimes five or six brats would gather by the entrance to our home and chant "Ainu! Ainu!". My younger siblings wept. The brats stopped coming when I scolded them loudly and harshly. I was seventeen years old, but I was miserable, crying with my younger siblings. I felt that I had to get a job and show everyone that I could support myself.

When I was eighteen years old, I got my hair permed for 180 yen. It was the first time that I was stylish, I was happy. When my grandma saw me with my round perm she said, "Yoko your hat will fall off". It became a bright topic amidst those dark times.

⁴⁹ Short story by Hans Christian Anderson published in the 1800's about a poor child who sells matches.

⁵⁰ Japanese singer and actress (1937-1989).

⁵¹ Theoretical physicist, first Japanese Nobel Laureate (1907-1981).

I was tidying up after our meal when an unsettled feeling swept down my back. It was so quiet that you could hear a pin drop in that narrow repatriate's residence. "Hm? I can't hear grandma breathing." I looked over and called "Grandma" repeatedly, but she stayed as she was, curled up with both hands pressed against her brow. She always slept in that pose. Torii Take, 72 years old when she passed away. To us, she had been warm and comforting, like the Ochiho sun.

We dressed her with the turban like head covering that she bought over from Ochiho and made sure that the tattoo around her mouth was visible. The whole family gathered, "Grandma, thank you for your hard work. Go and be with our Ochiho grandpa." We performed the 'water of the last moment' ritual for her⁵². "Goodbye grandma," we said our words of farewell, one by one. It snowed heavily the next day, one of my older brothers went alone to the crematorium using a horse and sled he borrowed from an acquaintance, he did it all alone. It was a long, long day waiting at home for my mother, for us siblings, for the people from the neighbourhood. If it had been in Ochiho there would've been a grand sendoff with all of grandma's close friends and acquaintances in attendance. This too is a scar from the war. I wish that when she was still alive, I had focused more on talking to her about history and the like rather than only thinking about food. She would've told me so happily.

When I was eighteen, I contracted tuberculosis and started going to the Fukui Clinic. Dr. Fukui was a repatriate who worked hard to provide medical care for other repatriates. He was surprised and happy for me when I began to work at a salon. Dr Fukui had no successor and at

⁵² Known as Matsugo no Mizu, a ceremony in which relatives touch the deceased's lips with water. Symbolically it is an offering to the deceased, as well as a confirmation of death.

some point, the clinic and family disappeared. It was a very hard time, rumors about me being Ainu and having tuberculosis swirled around. At the start we received an allowance from the Repatriation Support Bureau, so we were denounced as ‘tax parasites’ and ‘Ainu’. Why did we have to suffer so much, it wasn’t as if we were living so far away from home because we liked it! There were times we couldn’t buy the rice used to make mochi at New Years. You could hear when they started making it vigorously next door. My mother resented it; there were times she said “Yoko, let’s make mochi” as she thumped on the walls saying “There! Yes, good. Once more there!” pretending to make mochi while crying. My younger siblings would go to school without lunch, they would apparently just pass the time out on the field. They must have been so hungry. I persevered at nannying for four years while hearing about all of this.

Significant Themes of Translation Three

The War and Occupation (cont.) recounts events that had serious ramifications for the Tomita family such as being taken to Hakodate on the *Unzenmaru*, Abe’s father’s death, Abe’s grandmother’s death, Abe’s brother’s roles in the war, the Red Purge and their life after leaving Ochiho. It also discusses immensely important topics such as discrimination against Karafuto Ainu/*Enchiw* in regard to tattoos, heritage and other matters. After Japan lost WWII the repatriation of Japanese citizens from the colonies and occupied areas resulted in a mass movement of people returning to Japan. This was mentioned in relation to the shortages and hardship faced in Hokkaido following the end of WWII due to the sudden influx of a large number of Japanese citizens who had been overseas prior to the conclusion of the war, and the issues with absorbing such a large number of repatriates. Other topics such as cultural diversity in Karafuto, repatriation of non-Japanese citizens, shared housing between Karafuto’s inhabitants and Russian nationals who moved to Karafuto after the war were also mentioned.

In the following discussion of the themes covered in the translation the focus will be on discrimination, historical bans on Ainu traditions and customs and hardship due to WWII in Hokkaido.

Discrimination Against Karafuto Ainu/*Enchiw*

On multiple occasions throughout *Lights of Okhotsk* Abe mentions discrimination that both she, and her family faced as a result of being Ainu. A few examples from the autobiography are the children who taunted Abe's younger siblings in Hokkaido, the people who ridiculed Abe's relatives' wedding, Abe's prospective fiancée who disappeared following a background check, just to name a few. Historically, discrimination against Ainu has taken many different forms and occurred across different levels, such as at a political level (both national and local) with policies that discriminated against Ainu (which have already been discussed in this thesis). An example of this is the banning of Ainu from using Japanese languages and customs (mentioned in Chapter One) by Matsumae officials (Maher 328). The impact of discrimination on Abe and her family's everyday life that she wrote of in this autobiography was significant. This is not mentioned in the excerpts translated in this thesis, but in the latter half of the autobiography Abe wrote of an incident of discrimination that impacted her daughter to the point that it contributed to her decision to leave her (then) husband and the town that they were living in, in order to start a new life elsewhere.

In the 'Brief History of Ainu' (Chapter One) discrimination against Ainu was touched on but will be expanded on here. Discourse surrounding Ainu in the political sphere has gone from outright denial of the existence of cultural minorities in Japan, to the 2008 declaration and passage of a resolution that Ainu are an indigenous people by the Japanese Diet. Of note

is that other minorities such as the Ryukyuans are not included in this resolution. Prior to this, monoculturist comments made by officials that repudiated the existence of minorities are exemplified by that of former Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro (1918-2019) in 1986, who declared that Japan has no ‘racial minorities’ (Siddle, “Race and Resistance” 2). This statement asserted Japan’s homogeneity and denied the existence of minorities and indigenous people such as the Ainu and Ryukyuans. Aside from this kind of comment, which reinforces the idea that Japan is a homogeneous society, it is often said that Japan only has one language. In reality there are many languages other than Japanese spoken in Japan, such as Ainu and Ryukyuan (the latter spoken predominantly in Okinawa and sometimes classified as a dialect of Japanese) as well as a diverse range of dialects which can be vastly different depending on the region. Aside from indigenous languages, there are other minority languages spoken in the sizeable *Zainichi*⁵³ Korean and Chinese communities.

In 1992, six years after Nakasone’s statement regarding Japan being a homogenous nation, Nomura Giichi (1914–2008), Chairman of the Ainu association of Hokkaido for 32 years, gave an inauguration speech for the United Nations Year of the World’s Indigenous People in front of the United Nations General Assembly. Nomura called for the governments of Japan and other member states to enter into a partnership with indigenous people, as well as the removal of injustice through co-operation (Ainu Association of Hokkaidō, Inauguration Speech). Nomura invited the government of Japan to enter into a dialogue with the Ainu in order to create a role for indigenous people in the future of Japan, and stated that

“as an indigenous people living within a highly assimilationist and industrialised society such as Japan, the Ainu request that the United Nations move

⁵³ *Zainichi* Koreans are permanent ethnic Korean residents of Japan. They are not officially recognised by the Japanese government as a minority (Minority Rights Group International).

speedily to set international standards that guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples against various forms of ethnocide” (Ainu Association of Hokkaidō, Inauguration Speech).

Following this, in the same year, a news release by the Japanese government countered claims to the United Nations that Ainu were an unfairly treated minority, announcing that Ainu were Japanese, a statement that discounted that Ainu are a minority group with separate ethnic, cultural, and linguistic histories (DeChicchis 115).

Throughout the autobiography Abe wrote of various instances of discrimination she experienced, but never dwelled on it. It featured, but almost as an aside to the main topics. The times that her family was discriminated against or suffered from prejudice were written about more than instances involving Abe herself. For example, Abe’s grandmother and her traditional facial tattoos. Tattoos are a visible identifier of one as being Ainu, so Abe’s grandmother attempted to conceal her Ainu heritage by hiding her tattoos in order to protect her family and herself from the gaze of those around them. Having such an obvious characteristic that showed one as being Ainu opened up that individual, and their relatives, to prejudice from others around them. The discourse surrounding Ainu tattoos will be explored further in the following section.

Discourse Surrounding Ainu Tattoos

Tattooing has a long history across the world with innumerable meanings, traditions, customs, and practices across a multitude of cultures. The tradition of tattooing stretches back thousands of years, the oldest recorded tattoos are those of the 5,300-year-old Ötzi the Iceman, found in 1991 in the Ötztal Alps on the Austrian-Italian border (Smithsonian). The meaning and intent behind tattooing varies, traditional tattoos can act as a means of identification, a visible

delineation of social roles, markers of social status and achievement, a visual representation of personal history or a form of permanent decoration amongst a myriad of other meanings. Tattooing is an important component of tradition and culture of many indigenous cultures around the world, such as the Ainu, the tā moko (traditional tattooing) of the New Zealand Māori, the tattoos in the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), and the Inuit of Alaska among many others.

Ainu women traditionally tattooed their faces around their mouths to indicate their relationship status (lewellen 54). It was also common for Ainu women to tattoo their lips, cheeks, foreheads and eyebrows (Yamada 321). Indigo tattoos on the forearms marked a rite of passage for girls into adulthood, protection and also for aesthetic purposes (lewellen 55). Tattoos also served to indicate what region women were from (lewellen 57). Throughout *Lights of Okhotsk*, Abe mentions several times that her grandmother had traditional facial tattooing around her mouth but did not mention her mother or any other family members included in the autobiography as having facial tattoos.

Tattoos have had and continue to have many different meanings for different cultures around the world. Japan has a rather complicated history with tattoos. Despite the Tokugawa Shogunate's (1603-1867) efforts to discourage tattooing, from the 1600s tattoos became increasingly popular among the working class, especially among those who worked with much of their bodies exposed – labourers, carpenters, porters and so forth (Kaplan and Dubro 30). Due to oppression in the shape of restrictions on dress and lifestyle by the authorities, tattooing became an expression of self-identity along with being a form of rebellion against the upper classes (Yamada 322). As time passed, the use of tattoos changed again, from the 1720s tattoos began to be used by the authorities to mark people as criminals (Schmid 447). Although there were regional differences in how those deemed as criminal were marked, often a black ring

was tattooed around an offender's arm for each offense they committed (Kaplan & Dubro 30). Tattoos were associated with crime and criminals, gradually the practice of tattooing became associated with the yakuza⁵⁴, who, among many different reasons, would get tattoos to show their dedication and loyalty to their group (Yamada 321).

In 1871 there was an assimilationist policy created for the purpose of restricting traditional Ainu practices, it banned women's tattoos, men wearing earrings, and burning the homes of the deceased (Asahi Shimbun). Abe's grandmother died in 1949 at the age of 72, so would have been born around 1877, but still received the traditional facial tattoos. As a result of the perceived affiliation of those with tattoos being part of the yakuza, tattoos were viewed in an increasingly negative light. Today there are many bathhouses that will restrict entry if you have tattoos or ask you to cover them up. With the beginning of the Meiji Period and rapid modernisation of Japan, tattoos came to be seen very negatively and were banned outright until the end of WWII (Yamada 322).

Because tattoos in mainland Japan have a complex history which resulted in stigma and discrimination against those with visible tattoos, Abe's grandmother attempted to hide hers once they reached Hokkaido. Not only were tattoos looked down upon in general, but due to her tattoos being both traditional and visible it would have acted as an instant identifier of her as being Ainu. This opened her up to discrimination and persecution. In order to combat this, she wore a mask in an attempt to conceal her tattoos. This was also so that she would not cause embarrassment or prejudice towards her grandchildren through their relationship with her. Abe wrote of people being considerate to her grandmother, saying that she did not have to worry about the mask, but the fact that the grandmother felt the need to hide her tattoos shows the

⁵⁴ Japanese organised crime syndicate.

reaction she expected from the society she had moved into.

Shortages and Hardship in Hokkaido Following the end of WWII

It is worth briefly mentioning that not only in Hokkaido, but also in Karafuto there were shortages and limitations on food and other necessities which was mentioned in the first translation, *The Seasons*. Abe wrote about the shortage of sweets and tobacco but mentioned that her family had access to an abundance of food due to living in a rural area where farming and gardening, along with foraging, was the norm. Abe wrote about not being able to eat rice during wartime, at that time the staple food of Karafuto, which was all imported because it was not able to be cultivated on the island (Tonai 85). The Karafuto government had stockpiled supplies, but due to both the emergency evacuation of a significant number of Karafuto residents, and the invasion by the Soviet army, most of the rice had been transported to Hokkaido (Tonai 86).

In comparison to mainland Japan, Hokkaido was not heavily targeted by bombing and the like so was relatively unscarred (Irish 245). Following the end of WWII and the loss of colonies and territories, the repatriation and shifting of Japanese citizens from those areas resulted in a significantly large mass movement, one of the largest in the 20th century (Bull 65). Of those who returned to Japan or were Japanese citizens but being taken to Japan for the first time, Hokkaido absorbed a very high number. In saying that, during and following the end of WWII Hokkaido citizens suffered from both food and fuel shortages, as did much of the rest of Japan (Irish 245). Approximately 17,000 Japanese citizens relocated from the Southern Kurils to

Nemuro, a peninsula located in Hokkaido, near the Kurils (Kuroiwa 289). There were instances of prisoners who were held in Hokkaido during the war being fed grasshoppers due to food scarcity (Irish 254). Returning soldiers, refugees and lack of employment opportunities along with these shortages caused a myriad of issues in Hokkaido which impacted Abe and her family from the time that they arrived. Not only did large numbers of people relocate to Hokkaido after the war ended, but also before the end of the war there was actually another mass relocation of roughly two hundred thousand people from Tokyo whose homes were destroyed due to bombing (Irish 253). The Japanese government sent them to Hokkaido to farm and grow food for the rest of the country (Irish 253).

Abe talked about this in her autobiography from the perspective of a cultural minority in a tense situation, having been placed in a society that was constructed differently from what she and her family had grown up in. She spoke of how they were thought of as ‘tax parasites’ and struggled with persecution from the locals due to her family’s status as both outsiders, and Ainu. She also spoke of the financial struggles her family endured such as her mother not being able to afford rice to make new year’s mochi and keeping up appearances by hitting the walls, pretending that they could also indulge in treats to celebrate the new year. Abe’s younger siblings were unable to take lunches to school and would pass their lunchtimes on the school field with empty stomachs due to the lack of money and food.

In terms of lack of employment, both Abe and her older brother had immense obstacles that prevented them from finding employment. As stated in the translation, Abe’s brother lost his job as a result of the Red Purge, the stigma from this followed him as he tried to find other employment. It also affected Abe’s employment opportunities through association. Along with

the stigma of her brother's dismissal, Abe was Ainu and also had contracted tuberculosis. Not only did Abe have what were essentially strikes against her, but also was competing for jobs which were scarce in number. Abe was fortunate, she found work as a nanny and then became an apprentice at a salon, before moving and running her own salon and then eventually moving to Kanagawa prefecture in the Kanto region.

Conclusion

This thesis has focused on translating excerpts from Abe Yoko's autobiography *Lights of Okhotsk* and researching more deeply into the historical events and themes discussed from a first-person perspective throughout this autobiography. I hope that through translating sections of this work that it will be able to reach a wider, English speaking audience and contribute to people's understanding of life for Karafuto Ainu/*Enchiw* both before and directly following World War II. There were many major historical events that Abe lived through and wrote about in her autobiography from the perspective of someone who was directly affected.

The war, occupation and invasion of Karafuto and the Kuril Islands was an immense historical event, the ripples of it can still be seen today. By reading about Abe's life in *Lights of Okhotsk* you can see how her journey through life was affected by events beyond her control and how she and her family were affected. Abe's clear, but nostalgic descriptions of her childhood spent in Ochiho with her family, their land, and anecdotes about their lifestyle offers insight into what life was like for those in smaller villages in Karafuto in the final years that it existed. It tells a story different from that which one usually reads in the history books, being an autobiography, rather than focusing on the overall events themselves, it shows them on a

smaller, personal scale allowing you to understand more about the effect of things like the Red Purge or the evacuation and forced relocation of communities and families on families and individuals.

The issues that arise through forced repatriation such as displacement, disbandment of communities and adapting to living in a new community were explored in this thesis. In Abe's case the culture in Hokkaido may have been similar to what she was used to in Karafuto, but it was still different to what Abe and her family knew growing up. The fact that Abe was unable to return home to Karafuto for so many years but yearned to, illustrates the connection people have with the place they are raised in and the importance it has in their life. It shows the ongoing pain that can be caused when one is taken from that place.

By reading Abe's account of her experiences many different aspects of her life brought the trials faced by Karafuto Ainu into sharp focus. The discrimination, for example that Abe and her relatives faced not only for being Ainu, but for being Karafuto Ainu, thought of as 'tax parasites', treated with contempt and teased by people in their neighbourhood in Hokkaido. Japan's complex history and view of tattoos was touched on, with Abe's grandmother attempting to conceal the visible marks of her heritage in order to spare her grandchildren from potential embarrassment. This autobiography serves as a firsthand account of the outcome of assimilationist policies for Abe and her family. It shows what discrimination came with having cultural tattoos, what that could mean both the person with the tattoos and their relatives. It shows how language can be lost when the use of it is not encouraged but is actively discouraged.

Although I was unable to translate the entire autobiography due to the restrictions on thesis length, I hope that translating these excerpts is a cause for thought and aids in accessibility for

English speakers to read about and understand more about Karafuto and Karafuto Ainu/*Enchiw*.

I am curious to see how the National Ainu Museum and Park will be once it is opened to the public. Also how discourse, policies, language and education surrounding Ainu people, language and culture will change from now.

Glossary

ACFAP – Advisory Council for Future Ainu Policy

ACPA – Ainu Culture Promotion Act

Ainu Kyōkai – Ainu Association of Hokkaido

BACPG – Biratori Ainu Culture Preservation Group

CINE – Centre for Indigenous Peoples’ Nutrition and Environment

FRPAC – Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture

GHQ – General Headquarters

Hokkaidō Kyudojin Hogo Hō – Former Aborigines Protection Act

Kaitakushi – Hokkaido Colonisation Commission

Kokumin Hōkōkai, the National Service Association in Karafuto

Kyūdojin Jidōkyōiku Kitei (Regulation for the Education of Former Aborigines’ Children) –

Regulation for the Education of Former Aborigines Children

Kyūdojin Kyōiku Kitei – Education Rules for Former Aborigines

SCAP – The Supreme Commander for the Allied Forces

TEK – Traditional Ecological Knowledge

RSFSR – Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

UNDRIP – United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Citations

“Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan Shokumotsu” http://www.ainu-museum.or.jp/nyumon/rekishibunka/2_3syoku.html Accessed 16/06/19

Ainu Seisaku Suishin-Shitsu *Gosonji Desu ka*
www.pref.hokkaido.lg.jp/ks/ass/new_ainugo.htm Accessed 30/05/19

Ainu Seisaku Suishin-Shitsu Hokkaidō Ainu Seikatsu Jittai Chōsa no Jisshi Kekka Nitsuite 2017 http://www.pref.hokkaido.lg.jp/ks/ass/H29_ainu_living_conditions_survey_digest.pdf
Accessed 30/05/19

Anderson E. N, Pearshall, D. M, Hunn, E.S, Turner, N. J, *Ethnobiology* Wiley-Blackwell 2011

Anderson, F, E. & Iwasaki-Goodman, M. “Language and Culture Revitalisation in a Hokkaido Ainu Community” *Studies in Japanese Bilingualism* ed. Goebel Noguchi, M. & Fotos, S. Channel View Publications, 2000
ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/canterbury/detail.action?docID=3007732 Accessed 30/05/19

Asahi Shimbun 1871 *Ainu Minzoku no Fūshū Kinjiru Tsutatsu* Asahi Shimbun 2017
www.asahi.com/area/hokkaido/articles/MTW20170825011680001.html Accessed 30/05/19

Assmann, J. “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity.” Translated by John Czaplicka *New German Critique*, no. 65, Duke University Press, 1995 DOI: 10.2307/488538 Accessed 14/06/19

Austin, P, K. & Sallabank, J. eds. *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages* Cambridge University Press, 2011
ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/canterbury/detail.action?docID=691813 Accessed 14/06/19

Bird, I. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* John Murray, 1911 Edition

Brown, James, D.J. Brown, “Japan’s Foreign Relations with Russia, Unfulfilled Potential” in James D.J. & Kingston, Jeff. eds *Japan’s Foreign Relations in Asia* Routledge 2018

Bull, J. “Occupation-era Hokkaido and the Emergence of the Karafuto Repatriate” *Voices From the Shifting Russ-Japanese Border*, Karafuto/Sakhalin Routledge 2015

Chekhov, A. *Sakhalin Island* Trans. Brian Reeve, Alma Classics, Originally published 1895, Translated and revised edition 2013

DeChicchis, J. “Current State of the Ainu Language” *Multilingual Japan* Maher, eds. J, C. & Yashiro, K. Short Run Press, Great Britain 1995

Emori, S. *Ainu Minzoku no Rekishi Sofukan* 2015

Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation *Sakhalin Island*
<http://council.gov.ru/en/structure/regions/SAK/> Accessed 12/02/2020

Fitzhugh, Ben et al. “Resilience and the Population History of the Kuril Islands, Northwest Pacific: A Study in Complex Human Ecodynamics.” *Quaternary International: The Journal of the International Union for Quaternary Research* 2016
www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5215057/ Accessed 16/05/2019

Hale, K. “Endangered Languages: On Endangered Languages and the Safeguarding of Diversity” *Language, Vol. 68. Linguistic Society of America* 1992
doi.org/10.1353/lan.1992.0052 Accessed 14/06/19

Hasegawa, Y. “The Rights Movement and Cultural Revitalisation, The Case of the Ainu in Japan” *Cultural Diversity, Heritage and Human Rights: Intersections in Theory and Practice* eds. Langfield, M et al. Routledge 2009

Hokkai *Mukashi Atta Ainu no Tame Hokkai Mukashi Atta Ainu no Tokusetsu no Shōgakkō*
city.hokkai.or.jp/~ayaedu/kyudozin/kyudozin.html Accessed 31/05/19

Irish, A B. *Hokkaido: A History of Ethnic Transition and Development on Japan's Northern Island* McFarland 2009 [books.google.co.nz/books?id=-9EBuQK-](https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=-9EBuQK-NRQC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[NRQC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=-9EBuQK-NRQC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) Accessed 29/05/19

Iwasaki-Goodman, M. "Transmitting Ainu Traditional Food Knowledge from Mothers to their Daughters" *Maternal and Child Nutrition* 2017 <https://web-b-ebshost-com.ezproxy.canterbury.ac.nz/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=f1365ed9-adb0-431a-9d0a-b014240cee2b%40pdc-v-sessmgr03> Accessed 14/06/19

Kaplan, D, E. & Dubro, A. *Yakuza: Japan's Criminal Underworld*, University of California Press, 2012. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/canterbury/detail.action?docID=977264>. Accessed 08/07/19

Kayano. S. *Our Land Was a Forest: An Ainu Memoir* Translated by Kyoko Selden and Lili Selden, Westview Press. USA 1994

Khasbagan & Soyolt "Indigenous knowledge for plant species diversity: a case study of wild plants' folk names used by the Mongolians in Ejina desert area, Inner Mongolia, P. R. China" *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 2008 <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2268917/pdf/1746-4269-4-2.pdf> Accessed 13/06/19

Kimura, H. *The Kurillian Knot : A History of Japanese-Russian Border Negotiations*, Stanford University Press, 2008. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/canterbury/detail.action?docID=1047935> Accessed 22/01/2020

Kiyama, H. *Shakushain's Revolt of 1669: A study of a war between the Ainu and the Japanese* Bulletin of College of Foreign Studies Volume 1, 1979. www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/tgkt/1/0/1_KJ00004265913/_pdf/-char/ja Accessed 29/05/19

Kodansha *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* Vol 8. Kodansha 1983

Kōeki Shadanhōjin Hokkaidō Ainu Kyōkai (Ainu Association of Hokkaidō) *Ainu no Seikatsu Jittai* www.ainu-assn.or.jp/ainupeople/life.html Accessed 30/05/19

Kōeki Shadanhōjin Hokkaidō Ainu Kyōkai (Ainu Association of Hokkaidō) *Inauguration Speech at the U.N. General Assembly* www.ainu-assn.or.jp/english/inaugu.html Accessed 26/05/2019

Kowner, R. *Rethinking the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5: Centennial Perspectives*, Brill, 2007 <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/canterbury/detail.action?docID=771976>. Accessed 01/06/19

Kramersch, C. *Language and Culture* Oxford University Press, 1998. books.google.co.nz/books?id=XRPiONIC2PMC&source=gbs_navlinks_s Accessed 13/06/2019

Krauss, M. “Endangered Languages” *Language*, ed Ken Hale. vol 68, Linguistic Society of America 1992. www.jstor.org/stable/416368 Accessed 14/06/19

Kumano, R. “Anticommunism and Academic Freedom: Walter C. Eells and the ‘Red Purge’ in Occupied Japan.” *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2010, pp. 513–537 www.jstor.org/stable/25799354 Accessed 05/07/19

Kuroiwa, Y. “Northern Challenges: The Japan–Russian Border Dispute and Local Voices” *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 26:3, pp. 283-295, 2011 DOI: 10.1080/08865655.2011.686970

Lee, S. & Hasegawa, T. "Evolution of the Ainu Language in Space and Time." *PLoS One*, vol. 8, no. 4, 2013 <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.canterbury.ac.nz/docview/1346593047?accountid=14499>, Accessed 28/06/19

lewallen, a, e. ““Clamoring Blood”: The Materiality of Belonging in Modern Ainu Identity”

Critical Asian Studies 2016, Vol. 48 Issue 1, p50-76 DOI: 10.1080/14672715.2015.1131400

Maher, J, C. “Akor Isak - Our Language, Your Language: Ainu in Japan” *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: a 21st Century Perspective* ed. Fishman, J, A. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, 2001

Martinez, M. *Study on Treaties, Agreements and Other Constructive Arrangements Between States and Indigenous Populations* 1997

hrlibrary.umn.edu/demo/TreatiesStatesIndigenousPopulations_Martinez.pdf Accessed 01/06/19

Maruyama, H. "Japan's Post-War Ainu Policy. Why the Japanese Government has Not Recognised Ainu Indigenous Rights?" *The Polar Record*, vol. 49, no. 2, 2013, pp. 204-207. DOI:10.1017/S003224741200040X Accessed 29/05/19

Maruyama, H. “Japan's Policies Towards the Ainu Language and Culture with Special Reference to North Fennoscandian Sami Policies” *Acta Borealia*, 2014
DOI:10.1080/08003831.2014.967980 Accessed 31/05/19

Minority Rights Group International Japan, *Koreans*
minorityrights.org/minorities/koreans/ Accessed 29/05/19

Morioka-Shi *Sennin Kinenkan Kindaichi Kyōsuke* <http://www.mfca.jp/senjin/kindaichi/index>
Accessed 17/05/2019

Morris-Suzuki, T. “Performing Ethnic Harmony: The Japanese Government’s Plans for a New Ainu Law” *The Asia Pacific Journal*, Volume 16, 2018 <https://apjjf.org/-Tessa-Morris-Suzuki/5212/article.pdf> Accessed 03/06/19

Murasaki, K. “Washa no Taeta Karafuto Ainu-go, Sono Shuen to Saisei no Kanōsei” *The Japanese Journal of Language in Society* Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 3-16, 2012
https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jajls/14/2/14_KJ00008208139/_pdf Accessed 27/06/19

Nakagawa H. & Okuda, O. "Nivkh and Ainu" *The Vanishing Languages of the Pacific Rim* ed. Miyaoka, O. Sakiyama, O. Krauss, M. E. Oxford University Press 2007

Nakayama, T. "Japanese Society on Karafuto" *Voices from the Shifting Russo-Japanese Border*, Karafuto/Sakhalin pp19-41 Routledge 2015

Nield, R. *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840–1943*, Hong Kong University Press, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/canterbury/detail.action?docID=4394037>. Accessed 30/05/19

Nimmo, W, F. *Japan and Russia, A Reevaluation in the Post-Soviet Era* Greenwood Press 1994

Okada, M.V. *The Plight of Ainu, Indigenous People of Japan* *Journal of Indigenous Social Development* 1, University of Hawaii. 2012
scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/21976/v1i1_02okada.pdf Accessed 31/05/19

Paichadze, S. & Seaton, P. eds *Voices from the Shifting Russo-Japanese Border*, Karafuto/Sakhalin Routledge 2015

Pierotti, R. *Indigenous Knowledge, Ecology, and Evolutionary Biology* Routledge 2011

Rivenburgh, N. *Do We Really Understand the Issue? Media Coverage of Endangered Languages* AIIC 2004 aiic.ca/page/1512/do-we-really-understand-the-issue-media-coverage-of-endangered-languages/lang/1 Accessed 13/06/2019

Schmid, S. "Tattoos - an Historical Essay" *Travel Medicine and Infectious Disease* vol. 11, no. 6, 2013, pp. 444-7.
<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.canterbury.ac.nz/docview/1464939002?accountid=14499>,
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.canterbury.ac.nz/10.1016/j.tmaid.2013.10.013>. Accessed 08/07/19

Sevela M. "Chaos versus Cruelty: Sakhalin as a Secondary Theater of Operations" *Rethinking the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5: Centennial Perspectives* Brill 2007
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com> Accessed 01/06/19

Shibatani, M. *The Languages of Japan* Cambridge University Press 1990

Shugiin Hōritsu *Dai 52 Gō*

www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_housei.nsf/html/houritsu/14019970514052.html Accessed 31/05/19

Siddle, R. *An epoch-making event? The 1997 Ainu Cultural Promotion Act and its Impact Japan Forum*, 2002. DOI: 10.1080/0955580022000008763 Accessed 31/05/19

Siddle, R. "The Limits to Citizenship in Japan: Multiculturalism, Indigenous Rights and the Ainu" *Citizenship Studies* 2003 DOI: 10.1080/1362102032000134976 Accessed 01/06/19

Siddle, R. *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* Routledge 1996

Smithsonian.com *What Ötzi the Iceman's Tattoos Reveal About Copper Age Medical Practices* 2018 <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/what-otzi-icemans-tattoos-reveal-about-copper-age-medical-practices-180970244/> Accessed 08/07/19

Stephan, John. *Sakhalin, A History* Clarendon Press, 1971

Tanabe, Y. "The UN Declaration of The Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Ainu of Japan: Development and Challenges" *Indigenous Policy Journal* Vol. 24 2014
www.indigenouspolicy.org/index.php/ipj/article/view/228/224 Accessed 31/05/19

The Moscow Times *77% of Russians Oppose Ceding Kuril Islands to Japan, Poll Says*
<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/01/28/77-percent-russians-oppose-ceding-kuril-islands-japan-poll-says-a64302> Accessed 11/02/2020

Tonai, Y. "Soviet Rule and the Japanese Community" *Voices from the Shifting Russo-Japanese Border*, Karafuto/Sakhalin ed. Paichadze, S. & Seaton, P. Routledge 2015 pp 80-100

Tsunemoto, T. *Overview of the Ainu Policy Promotion Act of 2019* <https://fpcj.jp/wp/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/b8102b519c7b7c4a4e129763f23ed690.pdf> Accessed 07/12/19

Tsuzuki, C. *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan 1825-1995* Oxford University Press 2000

Ueno, M. "Kindai Ainu Sabetsu no Hassei Nitsuite no Kōsatsu" *Waseda Daigaku Daigakuin Kyōikugaku Kenkyūka Kiyō: Bessatsu* Volume 19, 2012
https://waseda.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=10429&item_no=1&page_id=13&block_id=21 Accessed 29/05/19

UNDESA *Indigenous Peoples at the UN*
www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html Accessed 22/05/19

UNESCO *Biodiversity and Linguistic Diversity, Maintaining Indigenous Languages, Conserving Biodiversity* www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/endangered-languages/biodiversity-and-linguistic-diversity/ Accessed 13/06/19

UNESCO *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*
<http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/index.php> Accessed 27/06/19

United Nations *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*
www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html 31/05/19

Urbansky, S & Barop, H. "Under the Red Star's Faint Light: How Sakhalin Became Soviet." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 18 no. 2, 2017, pp. 283-316.
Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/kri.2017.0019

Vovin, A. *A Reconstruction of Proto-Ainu* E.J. Brill, The Netherlands 1993

Walker, B, L. *The Conquest of Ainu Lands, Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion* University of California Press 2001

Watson, M. K. “Indigenous Food and Foodways: Mapping the Production of Ainu Food in Tokyo” eds Tan, C. B. & Cheung, S. *Food and Foodways in Asia: Resource, Tradition and Cooking* Routledge 2007 file:///file/UsersZ\$/zrh13/Home/Downloads/196313671.pdf
Accessed 18/06/19

Yamada, M. “Westernization and Cultural Resistance in Tattooing Practices in Contemporary Japan.” *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4, July 2009, pp. 319–338, doi:10.1177/1367877909104241.

Yoshiaki, Y. *Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People*, Trans. Ethan Mark Columbia University Press, 2015
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/canterbury/detail.action?docID=1922291> Accessed 27/06/19